The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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CONTENTS

Crisis over Europe	169	A Toast for the Children.....D. H.	183
Week by Week	171	Seven Days' Survey	184
Alternatives in Spain.....James A. Magner	173	The Play.....Grenville Vernon	188
The Girl Scouts Take Stock.....Anne Sarachon Hooley	176	The Screen.....James P. Cunningham	188
All Night Long (*verse*)....Sister Maris Stella	178	Communications	189
Fighting for Social Justice....John A. O'Brien	179	Books.....Philip H. Williams, Catherine Radziwill, Grenville Vernon, Geoffrey Stone, Max Fischer	191
Work Relief.....Oliver McKee, jr.	181		

Previous issues of THE COMMONWEAL are indexed in the *Reader's Guide* and the *Catholic Periodical Index*.

CRISIS OVER EUROPE

RECENT events would seem to indicate that the Valencia-Madrid government is facing a severe crisis. Conflicting reports pour in. A recent Associated Press dispatch, however, provides much food for thought. It was stated that a program to restore freedom of worship in all churches in territory now dominated and controlled by the Loyalist forces, aided by 100,000 foreigners in organized national units, is under serious consideration by the reorganized Valencia-Madrid régime. Under this plan, Catholic services would again be resumed. Furthermore, all businesses would be returned to their owners, "except for certain large industries important for war purposes."

How are we to interpret this complete about-face? When the enemies of all religion seriously consider a plan to permit the persecuted and outraged citizens of Spain to worship God in public—even though the Mass is celebrated in mutilated, looted and desecrated churches—something extraordinary must be in the wind. During the past six months we have been told over and over again that the Loyalist government was a democratic government. Numerous groups in this country were promptly organized for the purpose of aiding "Spanish democracy." The Catholic press throughout the United States denounced this lie and presented evidence which proved conclusively that the Madrid government was a despotism of the worst sort. This evidence was largely ignored. Misguided people went merrily on their way chanting the praises of the Madrid democracy.

It now appears that the Loyalist government was never democratic in the American sense of that term. It denied freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship. If the Loyalist government had been democratic in the past, it would not now announce the fact that serious consideration is being given to a plan which consti-

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tutes the first step in the establishment of a democracy—freedom of worship.

When the destroyers, confiscators and enemies of private property suddenly entertain the Christian notion that, having committed a serious injustice, they should make restitution, when confiscated loot is to be returned to the original owners, when shop-keepers are to have their shops returned to them, we can only conclude that the Loyalist régime has already seen the handwriting on the wall and is fast crumbling.

In marked contrast to the desperate maneuvers of the new Premier, an atmosphere of serene confidence would seem to hover over that part of Spain controlled by the Nationalists. We are told that General Gonzalo Queipo de Llano and the authorities of the grand old Catholic city of Seville witnessed a brilliant fiesta in commemoration of the feast of Corpus Christi amid scenes of splendor and fervor eclipsing anything seen in the seven years since the advent of the republic.

Thus far all the evidence points to a condition closely approaching and approximating panic on the Loyalist side and superb enthusiasm on the Nationalist side. What has been the effect of very recent events affecting the Spanish tragedy?

On Saturday, May 29, the pocket battleship Deutschland was bombed by two Loyalist airplanes off the Balearic Island of Iviza. The ship was at anchor about two hundred yards from the pier. Twenty-three, possibly twenty-four, members of the crew were killed and approximately eighty-three injured. In an official communiqué regarding the incident, issued by the Valencia Ministry of National Defense, it was stated that the warship "opened fire with great violence against the machines, although these had committed no act of aggression against either the town or the ship."

An official German communiqué explained the presence of the Deutschland in the harbor of Iviza by emphasizing the fact that "following attacks by Red airplanes on British, German and Italian warships in the harbor of Majorca in which six officers were killed on an Italian ship, it became impossible for German ships to remain in that harbor." On Saturday, therefore, the Deutschland was in the harbor of Iviza. One of the bombs struck in the midst of the crew's mess. German authorities emphatically deny that the warship attacked the Valencia aircraft.

Thus we have the two conflicting stories as they have been reported in the public press of the United States. The Valencia government maintains that the warship first opened fire, while the German government retorts that the Loyalist airplanes bombed the warship wihout warning. Which side is to be believed? The probabilities favor the German government. According to reports, the ship was peacefully anchored. Members of the crew were gathered forward in unprotected crew's quarters. One of the bombs struck in the midst of the crew's mess. One of the airplanes of the Valencia government then dropped a second bomb which struck the side of the ship but caused little damage. The Deutschland, fortunately fit for navigation, then proceeded to Gibraltar to land nineteen seriously and sixty-four slightly wounded men. The Valencia government had been twice warned not only by the Non-Intervention Committee but by the German government against attacks on ships employed for international patrol duty.

It is now pertinent to inquire why Loyalist airplanes attacked British, German and Italian warships employed in carrying out the international patrol around Spain. Moscow is always eager to denounce aggression—except when Moscow itself is the aggressor. The above instances all point in the same direction—deliberate acts of aggression against three powers participating in the international patrol. Does the Loyalist government find the patrol too efficient? Is it being continually embarrassed by the activities of the Non-Intervention Committee? Is it striving, with certain defeat staring it in the face, to involve the whole of Europe in ruin? Does it seek to perpetuate the civil war and chaos in Spain?

There is no immediate answer to these pertinent questions. But let us continue the story of events. In reprisal for the attack on the Deutschland, a German cruiser and four destroyers bombarded the seaport city of Almeria. Twenty people were killed. Germany notified the Non-Intervention Committee of her refusal to participate in further deliberations of that body or in patrol service off Spain until complete protection against further air attacks on ships of the international patrol fleet is assured. Italy followed with the announcement that Italian warships would not only remain in Spanish waters, but also continue to repress traffic in contraband arms and munitions.

A curious fact was then revealed. Russian aloofness to the civil war now raging in Spain has been found out to be nothing more than a sham and a pretense. Recent press dispatches revealed for the first time that there are a large number of Russian ships in the Mediterranean. They are not on a holiday excursion but are operating for the express purpose of supplying munitions to the Loyalist government.

We can now readily understand why the international patrol was such a nuisance to the Valencia government. We have some reason for the bombing of British, French and German ships participating in the international patrol. The Non-Intervention Committee, we believe, will see to it that Russian ships land no more cargoes in Loyalist territory.

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Week by Week

THE MEMORIAL DAY week-end failed spectacularly to give the country or the world a vacation of peaceful recuperation. There was a ten-minute war in Chicago which cost the lives of six men. Just as in Europe the rules of international law for the conduct of war are deliberately broken, so in Chicago the restraints which are hoped to soften industrial war are flouted. The nearest issue was if and how strikers are allowed to picket, and beyond that the union wants a written contract and the companies want unions to become suable, corporate personalities. Those who do not "believe in" class war must quickly act with more vision than the Illinois statesmen and police did or find themselves liquidated by that powerful "fiction" which is tearing the world apart. Those who do not want revolution must be thugs or reformists. The pace of New Deal reform has, under pressure, slowed up. That is a very dangerous situation. If the relief budgets are cut, farm bills tabled, social security inhibited, TVA emasculated, labor bills thrown out, housing forgotten and administrative organization left inefficient, the reformers will have been submerged. It is not that every man who opposes a Roosevelt proposal is a thug. But the tearer-downers should feel obligated to suggest different methods for building up. Constitutional alarm must not blind good citizens to the fact that American political economy is in such a way that the Republic Steel battle is no freak. The C.I.O. drive on industry is not something that happened because men named Roosevelt and Lewis got themselves into influential positions. The power over productive enterprise is shifting, by one means or another. Using only the sovereign state to govern the shift apparently results in increasing and unstable state capitalism under Fascism, or state capitalism under the prolonged "transitional" period of Communism. Before they shoot each other at plant gates, employers and employees should read the news from Europe and try to decide what they think about it.

The Trend of Events

WE ARE slowly beginning to penetrate the dense smoke screen set up around and about Spain by diabolically clever propagandists who have thus far successfully hoodwinked the American people into believing that General Franco is a bloodthirsty Fascist and that Germany and Italy are the only nations supplying men and munitions to the combat forces in the Iberian peninsula. Sir Walter Maxwell-Scott, retired major general of the British army and great-great-grandson of the Scottish poet, recently spent three weeks in Spain, covering more than 3,000 miles in the western part of the country by automobile. In an interview in the New York *Times* he stated that he regards General Franco as "the champion of Christianity against Communism in Western Europe." Testifying to the great revival of religious fervor throughout that part of Spain controlled by the Nationalists, he scotches the ugly rumor that Protestants will be molested for their religious belief. The vast majority of Franco's army, he asserts, are Spanish. There are not more than 7,000 or 8,000 official Germans in Franco's army. The number of international volunteers fighting against all that Spain stands for is conservatively estimated at 100,000. Sir Walter concluded the interview by saying that General Franco plans to set up a system based on papal encyclicals dealing with labor and social justice. Hysterical and badly informed people would have us believe that the Moors are fighting Franco's battles and that the Loyalist forces are composed almost exclusively of native Spaniards. It is now beginning to appear that Spain has been invaded by a terrorist mob, Communist dominated and controlled. Peace will not come to Spain until this mob has been expelled and Spaniards are permitted to work out their own destiny in their own way. Sir Walter's remarks constitute but a portion of that rapidly growing mass of authentic and unbiased information which admits of but one conclusion: the American people have been shamefully betrayed and deceived as to the truth about militant, Catholic Spain.

Sir Walter's Testimony

ASIDE from abstract principles, the practical objection to the usual Shortest Way with This or That is that it turns out to be the longest way in the end. For instance, Borough President Harvey of Queens recently gave public utterance to a formula for ridding New York of Communists, which he has since probably wished he could recall. The three or four feet of rubber hose figuring so prominently in the speech as the ideal armament for policemen, have been so widely and so unfavorably publicized that Mr. Harvey must feel himself a member of that large group of orators whose momentary afflatus has betrayed them into saying something uncommonly regrettable. But what should be noticed, aside from the proper exceptions which have been taken—and very generally taken—to the principle behind the hose method, is the fact that that method does not work. You can do no service to any man so great as giving him a wrong to advertise. That error in strategy has kept alive many a cause which would otherwise have died simply from its own inner ability

Happy Ending

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to keep on living. This hose episode has now reached what we must all hope is its final chapter, in a speech by Police Commissioner Valentine, characterizing the inevitable results of the proposal: "to brutalize and degrade this department and make it the laughing stock of the world." The commissioner has himself in the past recommended police methods in dealing with criminals which might not be wholly free of the same defects. We are glad—particularly glad in view of our genuine admiration for his achievements—to read this proper and right-minded statement of his. Difficult as it may be, the police must set the tune in keeping the peace. The whole growth of civilized police methods proves it.

Mr. Shuster Leaves

AN EXCEPTIONAL opportunity has come to Mr. George N. Shuster, who has been commissioned "to prosecute special research under the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences." The next year will therefore find him in Europe, busily engaged in building up a fund of information for future use. That "future use" is (he says) contingent upon what number of wars occur, and how much of him remains intact—in case. . . . Friends who wish to write, may address Mr. Shuster in care of THE COMMONWEAL. Now and always he will continue to take a special interest in problems which affect Catholic life throughout the world. It is fortunate that a great university should be able to sponsor such undertakings and supervise their carrying out. It is just as fortunate for Mr. Shuster, on the other hand, that he should be able to profit by that generosity.

Group Judgment

MIDMOST of the vernal season, the psychologists and psychiatrists have been convening here and there and giving out stimulating and provocative opinions to the world. We cannot pause upon all of them, but it seems to us as good democrats that a word is due Dr. Gurnee, of Western Reserve, who proclaims that he has performed experiments showing that group judgment excels individual judgment. This is what the progressive modern political student has long wanted to hear—indeed, it is what he bets on in calling himself a democrat. Yet he may well ask Dr. Gurnee to show proof; and it is our guess that when he does, he will be disappointed. For it appears that Dr. Gurnee's experiment was of such a special variety that within its limits group judgment could hardly help excelling individual judgment. Individuals were first given a set of true-or-false tests, and the same questions were then tried on groups—the inevitable result being that the members of the group who were uncertain of the answers, waited until those who were certain had answered, and then answered in the same way. It needs no angel sent from heaven to tell us this, Horatio. What democracy needs is some device which will extend this form of "control" spontaneously into the social and political fields where it is so sorely needed. If a lynching mob, or a strike-breaking mob, or an unpeacefully striking mob, could only be made to feel that they are on their mettle to prove that their judgment is superior to that of each constituent of their group, they too might delay until they were certain of the correct answer. Unfortunately, the factor of emotion enters all such cases, multiplied by the addition of every new unit to the group. We do not despair; we believe with all our hearts that in the long run the group gives the right answer. But that is when it has ceased to be a mob.

Relief Note

WE DO not suppose that anything in particular can be proved by the way animals are behaving just now. At least, we are not the ones to prove it. But we cannot but be struck by the number of our furred and feathered friends who are making the news columns at the present moment. It may be that news writers weary of trying to interpret the goings on of human beings, and are merely turning with relief to goings on that need not be interpreted but only chronicled. Or it may be that animals are really getting "curiouser and curiouser." For instance, bears in the north woods have become so benevolent that they protect from ravening wolves such wounded wayfarers as have to spend days crawling back to their woodland huts; or at least one bear so comported himself toward one wounded wayfarer, according to a news dispatch. Then there is the lofty character of the dog in Nebraska, which heaped coals of fire upon the cruel owner who abandoned it, by retrieving said owner's lost purse and turning up at the home portals with that valuable object in its mouth. A rabbit in Red Deer has reversed every precedent by attacking a dog in defense of a cat. A mouse in Tennessee was detected robbing the post office till of $26 in stamps and bills. A hen in Ohio stole the litter of a cat. And another cat, this time in Connecticut, demised at the hands of an automobile after having traveled through the African jungles terrorizing hyenas and leopards. Some general genalizing mind—Dean Swift, for instance—might draw sardonic and unforgettable conclusions from these phenomena. We have confessed our inability to do so; but we would as soon read about them and not draw conclusions as try to draw conclusions on some of the other news items—why Catholic bishops cannot officially address King George, for instance, or who shall be toasted first in banquets in the Philippines.

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ALTERNATIVES IN SPAIN[1]

By JAMES A. MAGNER

A victory for the Valencia-Madrid government can only result in the bloody sovietization of Spain. But will Franco, if victorious, build upon Spain's great traditions? The beginnings of the great rift in Spain were evident in 1931, when a thorough liquidation of the past started. Reviewing the events leading up to the present tragedy, Dr. Magner concludes that the Nationalists, admittedly partial to the Corporative State, must keep in mind "the needs of the generations of the present and the future."—The Editors.

WITH credit, soldiers and munitions pouring into Spain from opposite international camps, observers of the scene ask whether the war can end in anything but deadlock or extermination. Decisive victory on either side means dictatorship; and the forces of division that were laid during the foundation of the republic, will continue for years. By this time it is quite evident that this struggle is not merely of political or military elements but, in a large way, of conflicting philosophies of government, of society, and indeed of life. And in the welter of sympathy and support from "anti-Fascists" and "anti-Communists" both at home and abroad, Spain finds itself desperately driving farther away from its first hope of a liberal democracy.

For some time previous to the present debacle, moderate conservatives were generally denounced as Fascists by elements of the Left Wing, with increasing conviction and fury as the sources of fear deepened from moderate Left Republicanism and anticlericalism to genuine Anarcho-Syndicalism and Communism. On the other hand, Conservatives were often content to simplify the political complexion of their adversaries by labeling them as Communists, although a less casual examination would reveal the Leftists to be made up of widely disparate groups with small inclination to find a common ground of action.

The roots of extremist alignments, however, had been planted in Spanish soil some time before the coming of the republic. Anarchism was organized on the Peninsula in 1868. Pablo Iglesias established the Socialist Workers' party in 1879, inspiring the organization of the General Union of Workers (UGT) two years later. In 1906, Iglesias, whose name was later glorified by the republic, declared:

> The party which I represent here aspires to end all social antagonism, and to establish the solidarity of all mankind; this aspiration entails the suppression of the Bench, the suppression of the Church, the suppression of the Army, and the suppression of other organizations which are necessary for the present régime of insolidarity and antagonism.

It was not until 1921 that the Communist party took form in Spain. Fascist developments were evident in the Spanish army, particularly under the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, from 1923 to 1930. But the organization of a party as such or of a militia in any way comparable to that of the various radical unions could be found only in the sporadic movements of his son, recently executed by the so-called "Loyalists."

It is rather in the Republican-Socialist coalition of the founding fathers of the republic in 1931 that the beginnings of the great rift in Spain appear. The Revolutionary Committee and the first Cabinet of the republic included Catholics, Masonic Liberals, and Socialists, and it declared that the new government would be for all the people. Nevertheless, the principles of state Socialism immediately began to operate behind the front of the Left-wing Liberals. This was perhaps inevitable, inasmuch as the Socialist party was the only well-organized group prepared to vote after the collapse of the old Conservative parties, and hence was prepared to dominate the Parliament.

Under the leadership of Manual Azaña, Spain's new legislators lost no time in declaring for a thorough liquidation of the past. The estates of the nobility were to be confiscated. Other large properties were to be expropriated at their assessed value; and the peasants were to be settled as tenants of the State in large collectivist schemes. Into the coffers of the State were also to go the properties of the Church.

Two fronts of reaction resulted immediately, with generally conflicting demands. On the one hand, Communist and Anarchist agents appeared everywhere preaching and organizing violent class warfare, which the Left-wing Liberals were not yet prepared to espouse; and the government found itself in the embarrassing position of having to put down these manifestations, as at Las Casas, with force. On the other hand, property owners became alarmed at the prospects of State seizure—with sentiments ranging from blind terror lest one hectare be taken from the enormous estates of the south to a more reasonable opposition against the hastily conceived socialistic plans of distribution. The nationalization of Church properties had the further effect of consolidating Catholic opinion against the régime and of lining

[1] This is the third and last instalment of an article begun in the issue of May 28.

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up Catholic allegiance under the political leadership of the Agrarian party chief, Gil Robles.

In the light of subsequent events, the alarm of the Church was amply justified. Mingled feelings had met the separation of Church and State, although in general Catholic Spain was prepared to grant that the Church had at least as much to gain as to lose by this arrangement. The next move, however, very definitely showed that, in the creation of a thoroughly secularized state, the Catholic Church was to be eliminated from practically every field of cultural and public influence.

The dissolution of the Jesuits, the closing of their colleges and institutes, and the seizure of their properties, pointed the way. Shortly thereafter, the other religious orders were forbidden by the Constitution to teach or conduct schools, and deprived of the endowments by which they maintained their hospitals, orphanages and asylums.

The extreme radicals characterized these measures as mild and indecisive. Unbending opposition to all social and economic reform on the part of certain ultra-conservatives, on the other hand, served equally to obscure the real objectives of genuine democracy. But if a spirit of moderation is essential to democratic development, Azaña and his associates had done everything in their power to stir Spain into hostile camps and destroy the confidence of the great neutral masses. When President Zamora dissolved Parliament at the end of its work in 1933 and called for new elections, a landslide for the Conservative and Central groups clearly indicated that the temper of the people had been sorely tried.

Zamora's Catholic faith must have been grieved when he felt himself obliged to sign away the Church's rights in the new Constitution. His judgment now fell afoul of another test in the second Parliament. The man designed for the premiership by a large electoral majority was Gil Robles who had become head of the powerful Confederation of Autonomous Conservatives (CEDA). He had based his campaign on the course approved by the vast majority of Catholics: cooperation with the republic and legal revision of the sectarian, socialistic provisions of the Constitution. Disliked by the President, however, he found himself being repeatedly ignored and compelled by circumstances to support the indecisive leader of the Radical Republicans, Alejandro Lerroux. If Robles and his constituents now raised their voice in protest against this presidential policy of merely marking time, the grumbling of Left-wing minorities began to grow ominously into the roar of Red revolt.

Azaña, whose idea of democratic processes had from the beginning been conditioned on the success of his own proposals, declared himself for "revolution." At this time Largo Caballero, the recent leader of the Valencia Junta, began to give unmistakable evidences of his trend toward Leninism and dictatorship. The State, he declared, is an absolute power, and therefore no liberty should be granted to Conservatives. Robles's statement that patience was at an end and that his party intended to manifest its rightful power in Parliament was consequently taken as provocation by these groups for the cry of "Fascism." Amid the horrible carnage of October, 1934, an "anti-Fascist" revolt among the Anarchist miners of Asturias succeeded in establishing a short-lived Soviet at Oviedo; at the same time, the state of Catalonia revolted for autonomy. Both acts violated the Constitution.

The government put down these uprisings with great severity and the jails were filled with revolutionists who had not escaped across the borders. The status of Parliament, however, remained the same as before. Zamora's ambition apparently was to soft pedal the logical implications of the Constitution he had been constrained to approve; and Lerroux was recalled, to be followed by an even more futile shuffling of colorless Cabinets.

The "black biennium," as it is sometimes derisively called, came to a sudden end in February, 1936, when the President was practically forced to dissolve the Parliament and call for new elections. Many Conservative voters, impatient with what they viewed as the increasingly dilatory policies of Gil Robles, split their tickets, so that the large confidence of this leader in an overwhelming victory was by no means fully justified. Nevertheless, in the national polls, the Conservative and Center elements received a clear electoral majority of some 200,000 votes, and this in spite of violence and obstruction from the opposition. The CEDA returned 100 members, the largest single group in the Parliament.

The clue to civil struggle, however, had already appeared in the determination of the Left Wing to vote a straight ticket, even at the cost of perilous compromises. Following the lead of the "United Front" in France, Syndicalists, Anarchists and Communists—organizations which had consistently refused up to this time to use the ballot—were now welcomed by an alliance of Socialists with the Republican Union and Left Republican parties. With the support of these anti-Republican groups, agitating for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, the new Left "front" placed 256 deputies in the new Parliament. Those of the Conservative and Center groups, due to electoral laws, numbered 40 less.

It was a small majority, but enough for the purpose. The Leftists, who had long been agitating for new elections, immediately proceeded to impeach Zamora for having exceeded his constitutional authority in dissolving the former Parliament; and the Conservatives, who remembered him with little gratitude, abstained from voting

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on the issue. In his place, Azaña, who had sowed the whirlwind, was elected to reap the storm.

Battle was in the air. An immediate clamor brought amnesty for the revolutionists who had been languishing in exile or jail since the rebellions of 1934. Return to society of thousands of extremists, whose penalties had hardly been remedial, was bound to result in an epidemic of strikes and revolting incidents throughout the country. The destruction of churches and religious institutions, of newspaper presses and political headquarters, by bands of Anarchists and Communists, was followed by the invasion of large estates by bands of peasants who claimed them by promise of the Constitution. Murder and reprisals. Small Fascist groups began to show a strong hand in counter-demonstration with their Red counterparts, until the brutal murder of the Conservative leader Calvo Sotelo, by official guards, made it apparent to everyone (except Azaña) that large-scale violence was about to determine the future direction of the nation.

Whatever may have been the immediate justification for the action of the army in July, 1936, against this state of affairs, the observation of Winston Churchill four months after the outbreak of the Civil War holds true. By permitting "the grievous crime of allowing the parliamentary system to cover the advance of Communism and Anarchy," Azaña and his associates, as Churchill has pointed out, must be held largely responsible for bringing Spain to the precipice. The radical groups of Spain, with Anarchist and Marxist aims and well-organized workers' militias, united with the weak Left-wing moderates in February, 1936, merely to push them over at the opportune moment.

One may argue as to whether the Insurgent reaction hastened the Red dominance of what has been called the "Loyalist" government or whether recourse to arms was the only way of curbing the tumultuous march of Spain's Red minorities toward their ideal of a proletarian dictatorship. But the current realizations of the "Loyalist" transformation — Anarchy in Catalonia, with Azaña held there as a virtual prisoner, solidarity between the Russian and Spanish workers declared by Caballero from Valencia, strong Russian influence in Madrid, with Leninism as the new ideal of society, sinews of war from Russia and Mexico, an international army of "anti-Fascists," gutting of churches and slaughter of clergy and religious—give considerable substance to Franco's claim that he is fighting a counter-revolution against that of Communism.

One may doubt whether in the hands of the counter-revolution the cause of democracy will be more secure than before. But to refer to the causes represented today at Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid as the cause of democracy is to ignore factual developments. The Bureau of Propaganda of the CNT and the FAI, powerful Anarchist unions at Barcelona, declares:

> We want it definitely understood we are not fighting for a democratic republic; we are fighting for the triumph of the proletarian republic. Contrary to what the liberals say, the alternative is now Fascism or revolution. There are no intermediate solutions. Revolutionary workers have always regarded democracy as one of the forms which the bourgeois State assumes in order the better to repress the libertarian urge of the working people. Revolution and war are now inseparable in Spain.

To temper one's sympathies in the present conflict on the basis of atrocities would, of course, especially in the heat of the struggle, prove something of a boomerang. Moreover, to assume from the violence which the Church has suffered that the issue is primarily religious would be equally misleading. The fact that Church edifices have been put to the torch and priests, Brothers and nuns shot down because of their calling, by elements in league with the "Loyalist" cause, is merely graphic evidence of dialectic materialism reduced to the understanding of the mob. It is this materialism and cultural totalitarianism of the State, fostered by the so-called Liberals who wrote Spain's Constitution, that the Church would have to oppose in principle even though a single shot were never fired.

The backbone of the Insurgent cause lies increasingly with the middle classes of Spain, the conservatives and that wide liberal sentiment of the country that fails to see democracy emanating from a proletarian revolution and dictatorship "of the masses." The aid of Italy and Germany in this cause may signify primarily an alignment against the extension of Russian and Communistic influences. It may indicate commercial ambitions. It may prophesy something of a revised Spanish State. Gil Robles, whose present and future political importance is not entirely clear, has spoken repeatedly of the Corporative State as a desirable objective, and General Franco is known to have definite admiration for that plan as realized in Portugal. The Corporative idea, however, at least as suggested in the encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno," does not indicate Fascism.

However sympathetic one may be with the grievances of those groups which have raised the Red flag over Spain, it is more than doubtful that their victory can result in other than a bloody sovietization of Spain, with further regional strife and painful disillusions for lovers of democracy everywhere. On the other hand, the Insurgent forces have yet to demonstrate that, in their zeal for a Spain built upon the great traditions of the past, they will keep in mind the needs of the generations of the present and the future. Upon no other basis can Spain regain its Christian inheritance and national equilibrium, with peace.

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THE GIRL SCOUTS TAKE STOCK

By ANNE SARACHON HOOLEY

ALMOST two years ago, the Girl Scouts called in an advisory committee of specialists in education, sociology and group work headed by Charles H. Young, graduate of McGill University and former assistant in the sociology departments of Chicago and Cornell Universities, as examiner-in-chief. Mr. Young traveled through the country, and watched each troop over a period of four or five weeks. He saw the Girl Scouts at their normal activities and talked with them and their leaders, also discussing the functions of recreational agencies with leaders of other organizations. Distinctly Catholic troops may introduce not only the true Catholic philosophy of recreation but also those myriad spiritual helps which strengthen the growing girl. There are, however, certain fundamentals on which all Girl Scouting is based.

The Girl Scouts recognize that the growing girl is plastic and capable of education in the broadest sense along many lines. They recognize that she has definite spiritual, moral, mental, emotional, physical and social needs, and that these are reflected in her interests. They know that these interests vary with the individual and her environment; that what excites an artistic girl may bore her sister; that a country girl might welcome what would repel a city girl, and vice versa. The Girl Scouts hold that the individual girl's normal interests should be the point of departure in planning a program for her, if her cooperation is to be enlisted in the activities of the group she joins—in this case, a Girl Scout troop.

Since the Girl Scouts are not simply a play organization but also have a definite building purpose, no girl can join a troop or take part in the activities until she has first taken the Girl Scout promise and subscribed to the code of laws. Girl Scouting is non-sectarian. The girl joining the movement promises to do her duty to God, her country, her neighbor and herself, and she can be a member of any Church. That is the concern of her parents and religious teachers, not of the Girl Scouts. On the other hand, she may offend against no one's religious belief, and her code of laws includes the daily practise of such simple virtues as honesty, loyalty, courtesy, kindness, obedience, thrift, cheerfulness and uprightness of thought, word and deed. No girl, theoretically at least, is a Scout in good standing who does not make a conscious, constant effort to observe this code. It is an integral part of the whole movement, and without it Scouting would not be Scouting for either boys or girls.

The investigators of the Girl Scout program and practise had no quarrel with the promise or code. They believed the organization was doing its utmost to live up not only to the letter but to the spirit of its own laws. The fact that the Girl Scouts, Inc., an organization of high standing, voluntarily submitted to an examination by a body of disinterested specialists, proved how seriously they take the heavy moral and social responsibilities that are theirs. No one suggested that examination but themselves. They financed it. They gave every facility for making it thorough and impartial, and now they are following it through by giving every facility for trying out the recommendations made by the experts.

These are, in the main, twofold. They concern, first, the frame within which the Girl Scout activities are conducted and, second, the picture which those activities should constitute within that frame. The frame is known as the patrol system, and the activities of course are the program content.

Each Girl Scout troop is divided into three or four patrols, preferably of eight girls each, these patrols being headed by leaders of their own selecting from within the group. The whole troop is headed by an adult leader who, with the patrol leaders, forms a Court of Honor, the governing body of the troop. The purpose of the patrol system is to give each girl a chance to voice her opinion concerning the troop plans through her leader, for the Girl Scouts believe in the maximum of individual freedom accordant with a disciplined harmonious whole. In other words, they believe in the democratic principle.

Now, while all Americans believe in the democratic principle, it does not follow that all practise it. Certainly the possibility of voting does not always result in the actuality of expressed opinion. This is also true of the Girl Scout patrol system. We were delighted when Mr. Young found that the troops showing the best use of the patrol system included some run by Catholic nuns in San Francisco, Boston and New York. It is easy to understand how a nun whose whole life is the expression of a spiritual ideal should be conscious of her obligations in regard to the defined philosophy of a movement she tries to interpret. The problem of the Girl Scouts then is to see how far they can inculcate the leaders with these ideals.

It should not be assumed that a girl will express her opinion, because she has the right to do so; she may be shy, inarticulate, afraid of antagonizing a bossy but beloved playmate, or silent for

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many other reasons. It is the leader's business to see that, willy-nilly, the girl's opinion is voiced. Until more leaders feel their responsibilities in this matter, there will be a gap between Girl Scout theory and practise, between the intention of the program and its achievement. Training courses can effect a good deal in this respect, and so could more contact between the volunteer and the well-equipped professional Girl Scouts. The standards of the Girl Scouts are high, and the handful of professionals that the organization employs naturally have to meet them.

It was the opinion of the Advisory Committee then, that, if the training of the Girl Scout leaders should lay more stress on the philosophy behind the movement and less on the techniques set up for its interpretation, the patrol system might well approximate in practise what it was intended to be in theory—a way of training girls in the free and full use of their privileges as a self-governing democracy. The inflexible use of the system as an end in itself rather than a means to an end threatens to nullify the desired results.

When it came to examining the activity picture within the patrol system frame, Mr. Young discovered that again a certain rigidity in arrangement somewhat threatened the vitality of what should be a very live picture indeed. Nominally the Girl Scout program includes some fifty-two hobbies, from which a girl is free to choose according to her talent and taste, and these range from such domestic matters as cooking and caring for the baby through athletics and nature study to the arts and crafts. Actually it was found that, while these hobbies are allowable, the girls had first to complete so many compulsory activities, known as "rank requirements," that only a few ever reached the stage of free choice. Let us recall here, however, that Girl Scouting itself is a matter of free choice. No girl is compelled to join the movement. Yet the Girl Scouts now number close to 400,000 and have an alumnae roll running close to 2,000,000. A great deal of fun is necessarily interspersed with the business of learning any of the activities, and all of them are conducted informally with much singing of songs and playing of games. The question at issue is whether the girls would not have a still better time and learn a great deal more, if there were a wider range of activities in the "rank requirements" themselves, and generally more flexibility in the whole system.

All of the compulsory activities are acceptable to some girls, but they are not by any means so to every girl, nor do they always relate to her environment or daily life. Yet all girls have to meet them, in order to progress from the tenderfoot to second-class to first-class Girl Scout rank. A certain proficiency in fourteen subjects is compulsory for a girl to be a first-class Scout.

Another observation made by Mr. Young in regard to the activities was a tendency on the part of the organization to regard all members as being of the same age and tastes or at least to interpret the program for one age group, that of ten to fourteen. Actually the ages run from seven to eighteen, and fall into three main categories: the Brownie, aged seven to ten; the Girl Scout, aged ten to fourteen; and the older Girl Scout, aged fourteen to eighteen. Naturally, the same things do not interest a girl of fourteen that interest a child of seven, and eighteen looks at life very differently from fourteen. Yet both end-groups were undoubtedly receiving but scant attention from the organization in comparison to that received by the median-aged Girl Scout.

A main recommendation of the Advisory Committee then dealt, first, with the activities in and for themselves and, second, with the activities in relation to the different age groups.

In regard to the first the Committee recommended that the "rank requirements" be revised, so that all girls might begin their Scouting along the line of their own immediate interests; that the present rigidity of the requirements be softened to permit the activities to begin on the familiar group and grow out of material relating to the girls' environment; that the interests should be used as points of departure on the road to some possibly undefined but probably exciting educational goal rather than as achievements in themselves. Finally, the committee suggested that the interests should, again when possible, be carried continuously through the different age groups, varying of course with each group in the angle from which they were attacked. Of course, in many cases this is being done already by progressive leaders.

This is illustrated by the very commonplace activities of sewing, one of the domestic activities on which the Girl Scouts, in one way or another, spend considerable time. In fact, these girls, devoted though they are to the adventurous pastime of camping and its attendant thrills, prefer homemaking to any other occupation.

A girl of seven may be interested in her doll's wardrobe and in trying her hand at making it. She can be taught simple stitches, why one kind of thread is preferable to another, and how to use a thimble.

By the time Brownie is old enough to be a Girl Scout, real people are taking the place of toys. It is easy enough to arouse the interest of the Girl Scouts in "adopting" a family at Christmas. Through a tactful leader they may find out that the mother of the "adopted" family needs kitchen aprons or dish-cloths; the baby may need woolly socks, or little Jane's elbows may be sticking out of her sleeves. As they begin to sew or knit, they are not conscious of the labor, they are con-

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scious only of the glow that comes of aiding old Santa Claus himself.

In the oldest group, the girl from fourteen to eighteen has become conscious of herself as an individual, an individual incidentally who might be the better for a little adornment. This is a natural and healthy development and where the sewing project is concerned, it can lead to still better work: eager for new clothes, the girls will want to know how to make them.

This can be a starting-point to other interests. Thus the girls in one troop, none of them wealthy, decided to make themselves evening dresses, which naturally led to when and where they could be worn. The leader said: Why not at a dance? Many of the girls did not know social dancing, but that was easy to remedy. Being dressed up and ready to go led to the question: Where? If one were not invited to a party, said the leader, one might give one. That entailed a few lessons in the etiquette of party-giving. Then, for the common good, forces were combined with a Boy Scout troop. A breakfast hike was planned to bring them together. The boys proved handy at improvising stoves, and the girls knew all about eggs and bacon. The dance was later held, and everything from etiquette to eatables was perfect of its kind. Everyone was the happier, healthier and more competent socially for the experience.

To give young people a richer world by making their senses more alert to all the beauties of that about them; to give them a securer world by teaching them that security comes from within and not from without; to bring within their reach a higher spiritual world by helping them to build for themselves a solid foundation—that is the aim of the whole Scout movement.

It seems to follow closely my own favorite definition of recreation which I once drew from the words of the great saint and philosopher of play. Recreation is not all sports; it is not the indulgence of the senses, but a re-creation in the human heart of the spirit of joy, of beauty and of service. Of joy because it is the very law of nature for we have laughing brooks and singing birds and smiling skies. In the liturgy itself, the Laetares and the Allelulias constantly bid us rejoice. Of beauty, because the Creator has placed within the heart of every man a hunger for it and in the hands of a few the genius of creating it. Of service, because, as Jorgensen says, "the ultimate wisdom of living is to serve."

It was a privilege as well as a pleasure for us to see in what secure hands the responsibility for the Girl Scouts rests in America today, and how ably the women now in the movement are preparing to transmit their responsibilities to others equally capable tomorrow. There has never been self-glorification in Girl Scouting. In its history no one woman except its founder stands out, and it is due, not to herself, but to her followers that her name is known today.

It was just twenty-five years on March 12, 1937, since Juliette Gordon Low, of Savannah, Georgia, gave the tea-party that started the Girl Scouts, and it was Juliette Low herself who set the tradition of continually stopping to see whether the road on which the Girl Scouts had embarked was right and led to the goal they had in mind. She herself had brought from England a handbook for the organization, and she herself decided that it was not good for American girls. So she rewrote it, single-handed. It was she again who looked upon her own handiwork in 1920, and found that it also was not good, so she gathered together just such a group of advisors as the Girl Scouts nearly two years ago gathered together, and made a program study like that recently concluded. Since then other studies have been made, for self-criticism of the healthy variety is part of the Girl Scout tradition.

The essence of life is change, and the Girl Scouts are alive; therefore, the Girl Scouts will change, but not in fundamentals! The philosophy behind the movement is the same now as it was twenty-five years ago. To keep the philosophy always in focus and let it inspire all the activities was the main recommendation of the program study advisory committee. To do so, the Girl Scouts need more leaders better instructed in fundamentals and more conscious of their responsibilities in regard to their fundamentals.

Service as leaders of troops or on local committees and councils is one which holds rich returns for the person doing it. Catholic women and particularly Catholic college graduates of our day are trained to this ideal of service. To have a part in bringing to the adolescent girl the understanding of recreation in the sense of a threefold re-creation of joy, of beauty and of service means a part in weaving into the social fabric of tomorrow the culture of Christ for the Kingdom of Christ.

All Night Long

All night long all night the birds run under
the eyeless mountains of the moon; all night
beating the cold air with a ghostly thunder,
their wings rush on beneath the pale moon-white
peaks and empty craters. But no eye
peers through the dead light downward from the face
of the moon to where the moon-drawn waters lie
and earth and the birds run perilously through space.
Into the echoing hollow of the dark
the twitterings, dissolved in distance, fall
shaking thin bells of air as meadowlark
and swallow, swirls of goldfinch, thrushes—all
stream steadily northward—an uncountable throng,
their wings in the moonlight beating all night long.

SISTER MARIS STELLA.

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FIGHTING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

By JOHN A. O'BRIEN

IN MANY countries the children of the Church are paying today for the shortsightedness of the fathers. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes," observed Father J. M. Gillis, C.S.P., after traveling through some of the countries of South America, "and the teeth of the children are on edge." The fact is undeniable that the favorite argument of the Communist agitator against the Church is its alleged wealth and that of its ministers. In this vein writes Bertrand Russell ("Education and the Modern World," page 217):

> In general, when large numbers of men and women have abandoned a creed in which they had grown up, there has been some economic motive at work, though often unconsciously. The Reformation would not have had the success it had except for the Church lands and the tribute exacted by Rome. Socialists of the Continent have been, in the main, anti-Christian, and have offered economic arguments to show that Christianity is in the interests of the rich.

Every Socialist and Communist writer from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels down to Upton Sinclair and Earl Browder harps on the wealth of the Church and points to its costly temples as a far cry from the religion of the humble Nazarene Who said: "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air nests but the Son of Man hath not whereon to lay His head." But they see only the exterior, and do not penetrate to the soul of the Church to perceive that her sympathy is with the poor and the lowly, and her heart beats in unison with their sufferings. More than any institution in the world today, the Catholic Church is the Church of the toiling masses. She preaches a social gospel which will bring them the largest measure of economic justice. Like her Divine Founder she can truthfully say: "I have compassion on the multitude."

The greatest catastrophe in Christendom, sadly commented the Holy Father in a recent conference with a bishop, is the alienation of the poor man from the Church. It is the supreme tragedy of our times that so many millions of the poor have left the Church to embrace Socialism and Communism in their quest for economic salvation. Father J. M. Gillis observes:

> These are our people and it is ironical to a painful degree that we have lost them because they think we are in league with the rich against them. . . . We must win back the multitudes of the poor in every country, save them from false Christs and false prophets, and this we cannot do if we leave any doubt in their mind that the Christian religion is by divine warrant, by inheritance, by tradition and by predilection the religion of the poor.

The facts of history, past and present, give added emphasis to the words of Pius XI as to the only effective method of combating Communism, namely, by correcting the gross inequalities of distribution of the goods of life. Unless serious efforts are made, "with all energy and without delay," to correct the present social and economic injustices "victimizing so many millions of the poor," warns the Pontiff, "let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution." While he reprobates those who make light of the dangers of Communism and manifest indifference to its continued spread throughout the world, he is careful to add:

> Even more severely must be condemned the foolhardiness of those who neglect to remove or modify such conditions as exasperate the minds of the people, and so prepare the way for overthrow and ruin of the social order.

In other words, not by mere denunciation but by constructive action in improving the social order to secure full economic justice for the poor and the lowly will we stem the onward sweep of Communism. Failure to attack honestly and persistently the main causes of Communism—poverty, unemployment, sweat-shop conditions of labor, unfair wages, insecurity and inequitable distribution of the goods of life—will do more to strengthen Communism than all the propaganda and "boring-in" tactics of this movement.

The other factor which has given rise to much alarm especially in Catholic circles is the sympathy extended by certain self-styled liberals to the so-called Loyalist forces in Spain. Many of the groups extending sympathy to the Loyalists do so not with the intention of approving Communism but under the impression that the government is fighting the battle for democracy in the interests of the overwhelming masses against the forces of Fascists and foreign invaders.

For half a century, Monsignor John A. Ryan has been in the thick of the battle for a living wage. As to the extent of Communism in our country at the present time he says:

> The alarm which has become so vocal and so blatant within the last six months is out of all proportion to the facts. Not one national or state labor union is dominated by Communists. The members of the Communist party in this country do not exceed 100,000. To declare that the "Communist-minded" persons amount to 20,000,000 is to utter an assertion that is not only incapable of proof but is, on its face, ridiculous.

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In addition to labor unions, state and secular universities are frequently pictured as places where Communists abound. But in a ministry of almost a quarter of a century at the fourth largest secular university in America, I have found but a handful of students styling themselves Communists. Most of them will grow out of it with the advent of maturity as children pass through the stages of measles and mumps on the way to adolescence. I have yet to find among the faculty of the University of Illinois a single professor who could be truthfully called a Communist. True, there are little fringes of radicals and Communists among the students at secular universities, but they attract a degree of newspaper publicity that is out of all proportion to their numbers. Usually their influence on the campus is *nil*. My own experience in an altogether different field from Monsignor Ryan's causes me to be in complete agreement with him as to the small number and limited influence of Communists in America today.

The one factor which would cause them to grow in number and influence would be indifference to the inequities of our present economic and industrial order. But never in the nation's history have we had an administration which displayed such profound solicitude for the rights of toiling masses and the underprivileged, and such a determined attitude to reshape the economic order to safeguard those rights, as at the present time. Never in our history have we had a President who has fought with such intelligence, ability and courage to translate into the social and economic order of our day the ideals of social justice and human rights voiced so eloquently by Leo XIII and Pius XI.

Standing with head bared in a drenching rain, the President in his inaugural address sketched as the great objective of his administration the lifting of the 40,000,000 citizens now underprivileged into the higher plane of American citizenship where they shall enjoy all the comforts of decent human life, such as this great land of rich natural resources and of democratic opportunity can afford.

No inaugural address ever contained such an eloquent and noble plea for social justice for the submerged millions of our citizens as the following words of President Roosevelt:

> I see a United States which can demonstrate that, under democratic methods of government, national wealth can be translated into a spreading volume of human comforts hitherto unknown—and the lowest standard of living can be raised far above the level of mere subsistence. But here is the challenge to our democracy: In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens—a substantial part of its whole population—who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life. I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day. I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.
>
> I see millions denied education, recreation and the opportunity to better the lot of their children. I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions. I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope—because the nation, seeing and understanding the injustice of it, proposes to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

In these stirring words of our Chief Executive one catches the echo of the voices of Leo XIII and Pius XI pleading for the rights of the laborer, the poor and the downtrodden. In those determined words of our President one sees the dedication of the American nation to the task of destroying forever the menace of Communism in our land, not by mere denunciation but by the permanent eradication of the inequities of our present social order wherein alone Communism is bred. No wonder it was that our Holy Father sent from his sick bed his hearty congratulations to the President upon his inauguration with the fervent prayer that God would strengthen and sustain him in his courageous leadership of the American people in the paths of justice and peace.

Catholics will best hasten the demise of the scattered forces of Communism now in our land by fighting for the ideals of social justice, a living wage, social security, social insurance, old age pensions, laws for the protection of women and children in industry, and all the other progressive legislation which will Christianize our social and economic order and carve into abiding realities the noble ideals of our great Pontiffs and of the Divine Nazarene Who said: "I am come that you may have life and have it more abundantly."

By giving to the great toiling masses of the world the means and opportunities of that more abundant life, we shall not only remove forever the menace of Communism but we shall make the social and economic order reflect the principles of justice and brotherhood voiced so eloquently by the Divine Founder of our Faith. Instead of a menace, the social order will then serve as a bulwark of the Christian religion, anchoring its ideals deep down in the life of the race.

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WORK RELIEF

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

FOR THE fiscal year beginning July 1, President Roosevelt has asked Congress to appropriate $1,500,000,000 for work relief. Largest item in a budget of more than $7,000,000,000, unemployment relief will exceed, by a substantial margin, the entire cost of the federal government twenty-five years ago. Though less than relief expenditures during the past four years, which have aggregated over $11,000,000,000, the vast appropriation which Mr. Roosevelt is seeking in his fifth year in the White House focuses attention on two facts: first, that the care of the unemployed remains the key to Mr. Roosevelt's budget problem, and second, that despite the marked revival in business and industrial activity, millions of employables have yet to find jobs in private enterprise.

Barring a major war, or another depression that dries up the sources of Treasury revenues, the financial resources of the federal government are sufficient to meet, for many years to come, an annual relief bill or $1,000,000,000 or more. At a pinch, new taxes can be levied, and we can tighten up our belts another notch. More serious than the budget problem are the social implications which lie behind the President's request. For times are signally on the mend. The depression has gone, even if prosperity has not yet arrived in full stride. Despite business improvement and the outpouring of public money, the challenge of unemployment still remains.

When Mr. Roosevelt accepted the Democratic nomination at Chicago in 1932, he promised, if elected, that the federal government would not let those out of work go hungry. Though federal relief policies have changed somewhat since then, the objective remains the same—to provide for those in want the basic necessities of life, shelter, clothes and food. In establishing the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Emergency Relief Administration, the Public Works Administration, the Civilian Works Administration, the present Works Progress Administration, and in several other federal enterprises, relief of the unemployed has been a primary objective. Though "pump priming" has also been an aim of federal spending, it has never taken precedence over the care of human beings in want.

What is the situation at the present time? Estimates of unemployment vary widely. The American Federation of Labor estimates that the number of unemployed have declined from 15,653,000 in March, 1933, to somewhat less than 10,000,000 at the present time. The Committee on Economic Security puts present unemployment at 9,748,000 and the National Industrial Conference Board placed total unemployment in March, 1937, at 7,553,000. Other estimates are somewhat lower. Because estimates vary so widely, total unemployment can only be guessed at. Though far less than in 1933, unemployment is probably larger, relatively to the total population of the United States, than at any time in our history, with the exception of periods of major economic depression.

WPA employment reached its peak during the week ending February 29, 1936, when 3,035,852 persons were registered on WPA rolls. The latest figure, that for April 30, showed 2,085,329 on the WPA employment registers. This figure represents only a part of the total "relief" population of the United States. Under present policies, federal responsibility is restricted in theory, if not in fact, to the care of the employable jobless on relief rolls, with some contribution to the states in administering a permanent program for non-employable groups, such as the aged, the blind, the crippled and dependent children. In line with this policy, the federal government, last year, decided to return the "unemployables" to the states.

As the law now stands, WPA can only employ on its work relief projects those who come from properly certified relief rolls. This requirement limits employment to those who are without means of any kind. Beyond those on the WPA rolls, and the "unemployables" now being cared for by the states, many unemployed must look for support to kinsfolk, or private charities. Many jobless are as well taken care of by families, or local charities, as they would be if on WPA rolls. There are others who are faring a good deal worse than those on WPA rolls.

Under the disintegrating impact of the depression entrance of the federal government into the business of relief was unavoidable. Its intervention has had far-reaching consequences. Federal relief activities have changed the pattern of national politics, altered the relationship between national and state and local governments, and they have had an important effect on the character of a large segment of our population.

Distribution in four years of $11,000,000,000 of relief funds necessitated a large organization, extending from Washington to the smaller political subdivisions of the states. Though the handling of federal funds has been notably free of graft, the relief set-up, in many states and

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communities, has had a strong political complexion. Local politicians, in many places, have had a hand in picking the lesser administrative personnel. The relief "vote" has also played an important part in the calculations of political strategists. Though authentic figures are not available, observers are in substantial agreement that Mr. Roosevelt and Democratic candidates generally received the bulk of the votes of those men and women on relief rolls who went to the polls last November. The relief billions, politically, have been an asset to the party in power.

Federal relief activities have also affected the old relationship between the national and the state and local governments. Prior to the depression, the care of those in need was regarded as primarily a local and community responsibility. Except in times of national disaster, federal funds rarely were used for direct human relief. As a matter of pride, states and local communities made a point of looking after their own.

The resources of private agencies, and those of the states and cities were palpably insufficient to meet the depression relief problem. Federal help was essential, to prevent starvation, and for four years federal cash has paid a large share of the costs of local relief. In some states the federal contribution has run as high as 90 percent. The states and local governments spent nearly four times as much from their own funds for relief in 1936, as they did in 1933, according to figures made public on May 3 by Administrator Hopkins, their expenditures increasing from $339,000,000 in 1933 to $1,245,000,000 in 1936. Nevertheless the Federal Treasury continues to pay a large part of the costs of relief, and a group of governors and mayors have launched a drive to prevent any reduction in WPA grants to the states. The huge expenditures of the Treasury for direct relief has brought about a fundamental, perhaps a permanent, change in the relationship between the national and state and local governments.

We must await the perspective of a later day for a full appraisal of the effect of public relief on its recipients, and the national character as a whole. For a schooling in the virtues of self-reliance we must look elsewhere. A WPA job can never be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for gainful employment in private enterprise. The character effects are imponderables, not easily evaluated on the social ledger. Our modern industrial civilization, rich in its prizes for the successful, deals harshly with the weak and the unfortunate. Many of the victims of the depression will never be able to stage an economic comeback. Years of a meager subsistence income, the loss of savings and homes, and long-enforced idleness have taken their toll in the undermining of character, and a permanent loss of efficiency. Though many of the strong, and able, after a period on public relief rolls, have established themselves again as self-supporting members of society, others, less fortunate, and perhaps less efficient, still see no hope beyond the public work-relief rolls. Having assumed the responsibility in the first instance for the care of the needy, the federal government cannot, either in good conscience or equity, leave its wards to shift for themselves, without any means of support.

With economic recovery so far advanced, why do the relief rolls still remain so large? The answers to the question differ widely. Critics of the New Deal insist that if business and industry were freed of their present uncertainties, if the national budget were balanced, and if governmental controls were relaxed, and "regimentation" policies abandoned, private enterprise would quickly find places for the great bulk of those now on the public relief rolls. To support this claim, they direct attention to reports from many places of a shortage in skilled labor. Administration critics also challenge the current estimates as to the amount of unemployment, and insist that the number of persons out of work, who are able and willing to work, is far below such estimates as those of the American Federation of Labor.

Without question, industry and business, if recovery continues, will find places for many of those now on relief rolls. Nevertheless the problem of technological unemployment will still remain, and technological unemployment explains in part why the relief registers are still so large. A WPA survey by David Weintraub and Harold L. Posner has this to say on the subject:

> The growth in total output from 1920 to 1929 was insufficient, in the light of increased productivity and the growth of the labor supply, to absorb all the available man power; the result was a substantial volume of unemployment during this entire period. The data examined indicate that while the continued advance in the material well-being of the country depends upon technological progress of the country's productive apparatus, we must look to a much more rapid expansion of production than has taken place between 1933 and 1935 before we can expect a return either to the employment or to the unemployment levels of the predepression period. An undetermined but substantial proportion of the unemployed in any single year probably consisted of workers who had been displaced from their jobs in one way or another by the employment dislocations which accompany technological progress. The notable expansion in employment which took place between 1920 and 1929 was due almost entirely to the rapid growth of service activities; their occupational requirements differed so widely from those of the basic industries which registered declines that it is extremely unlikely that all the workers dis-

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placed from basic industries obtained new jobs in the service industries. The outlook for the immediate future seems to be in the direction of further technological progress toward a level of productivity substantially higher than that attained prior to 1929. The rate of advance, of course, differs in different industries, but since our economic system has not evidenced an ability to make the necessary adjustments fast enough, it may be expected that the dislocations occasioned by technological progress will continue to present serious problems in industrial, economic and social readjustment.

Because of technological unemployment, changes in industrial techniques, and the tendency to replace man with the machine, federal officials, familiar at first-hand with the impact of these forces on American society, warn us that we must hereafter make provision, even in times of "prosperity" for an unemployed population of 5,000,000 or 6,000,000, instead of the "normal" unemployed population of the predepression era of about 2,000,000. In a land of plenty and unmatched natural resources, the men and women in this group must be cared for either by work relief or the dole. By the same token, the children of these families, as a matter of social justice, must be given an opportunity, by education, and vocational training, to find places as self-supporting members of society. The obligation is inescapable, even though opinions may differ as to the best method for discharging this obligation. Assuming a more or less permanent unemployed population of 5,000,000 or 6,000,000, public relief, on a substantial scale, seems inevitable for many years to come.

The challenge of unemployment is thus a continuing one. Notwithstanding its costly enterprises, the Roosevelt administration has fallen far short of its reemployment objectives. Nor has it evolved a really satisfactory employment program. Before a long-range policy, intelligently conceived, can be worked out, an authentic count of the unemployed seems essential. Though technically, it may be difficult if not impossible to define, as the President points out, exactly what we mean by an "unemployed person," as a practical matter, federal statistical agencies, if given sufficient funds, should be able to find out how many persons there are in the United States, able and willing to work, who are without jobs.

After a true picture of unemployment is obtained, the next step should be a long-range carefully planned public employment program, with adequate contributions from the states. Granted the continuing need of a federal appropriation, the National Treasury should not be called upon to pay a disproportionate share. Nor by the same token, should public relief be so attractive as to discourage those on its rolls from making a real effort to find jobs in private enterprise.

A TOAST FOR THE CHILDREN

By D. H.

STABILITY or balance is a necessary moral quality which Marcus Aurelius summarized as follows: "If even the perception of doing wrong shall depart, what reason is there for living any longer?"

Material influences toward stability are uncertain, these days, at best. Who can be sure of future security for his child? Many an infant born to laces in Moscow is wearing hand-me-downs in Paris or New York. And many of these could testify that instinctive surgings toward ideals, however noble, do not supply the stamina acquired from ordered spiritual training and belief; and lacking this, calamities leave bitternesses in the heart, long years after the misfortunes themselves may have been remedied.

I, for one, shall always deplore the lack of a Catholic upbringing; not because of material reverses, but because the haphazard gaps in my Protestant moral training are so many portals for tolerations and vacillations to enter and retard my steps. Who, so handicapped, does not envy the "narrow" faith of the born Catholic, who never doubts his early principles, even when he ignores their strictures for a time!

For in childhood, faith comes and stays more readily. Children will find happiness so naturally with the Mother, with the Son; faith found or taught in later life is never quite the same. The most enthusiastic convert, if he were frank, would probably admit his spasms of devoutness alternated with attacks of—something else: doubt is too strong a word, rather an indefinite though pronounced discomfort. Other ways and days persist in their existence. They will not die, nor remain in the old dwelling which is deserted now, but like a string of household pets, they follow after to the new, and are forever sticking chilly and inquiring noses in the corners, niches and the sacred, quiet spots. The convert is bound to make comparisons, sometimes favorable, other times not. Personally, I am suspicious of the convert who exclaims he has at last found "peace." The tears of Newman outside the gates of Oxford are the secret experience of maturity. Who keeps to his decision often does so despite himself. Say "grace," but to cry "peace" is usually sentimental and untrue.

Therefore, give Catholicism to the children. Let them be taught the Faith so thoroughly that they can see nor over nor around the Church upon the Rock. Belief has never stifled genius nor retarded progress yet—for nothing *can!* Give them pomp and ceremonies, statues and candles, incense permeating their young thoughts—the children will be full of eagerness to make themselves at home amid it all. For Gothic arches are thronged with angels singing to the pure in heart, where there is only gloom and silence to the older eye and ear. And while young lips recite the rosary the Church will build an influence which later life may weaken but can never quite destroy.

Oh, give the children every opportunity in this! Provide that if in the vicissitudes of future years all else should go, there will always be the Sacred Heart for them beneath the Sanctuary Lamp.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Pope Pius XI's eightieth birthday, May 31, was the cause for congratulations from all parts of the world; special services were held in every diocese of the United States. A world-wide broadcast had to be cancelled because of the state of the Holy Father's health. * * * The Diocese of Detroit has been made an archdiocese and Archbishop Edward A. Mooney of Rochester, N. Y., has been named to succeed the late Bishop Michael J. Gallagher there. The Diocese of Lansing, Mich., has also been created with Auxiliary Bishop Joseph H. Albers of Cincinnati as its first Ordinary. Reverend Walter A. Foery of Rochester has been named Bishop of Syracuse, N. Y. * * * The N.C.W.C. Department of Education announces that 142 Catholic institutions of higher education are conducting summer schools this year. * * * Some thirty-six students at St. Aloysius Girls High School have thrown aside their traditional class exclusiveness and are working in the slums of Tuticorin, South India, under the supervision of the Jesuit Bishop of Tuticorin and the Servite Sisters of Mary. * * * A solemn pontifical Mass celebrated by Bishop Thomas J. Walsh of Newark and chanted by 7,000 voices was broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company, May 31. School children from the Diocese of Newark comprised a large part of this huge choir which gave an effective rendering of the music of the Church. * * * Writing for the New York *Herald Tribune* Alfred E. Smith described a recent public audience with the Holy Father, at which His Holiness in response to a plea for "a word to a Spaniard" spoke as follows: "There is no one Spaniard nor group of Spaniards; there is only Spain, and I love Spain with all my heart and pray that all that dwell there may have the peace which only Our Lord can bring." * * * A Catholic community has been established around the missionaries' compound at Njinikom, British Cameroons, West Africa, where 600 natives out of a population of 2,000 to 3,000 receive Communion daily. * * * The St. Vincent de Paul Society of the Diocese of Pittsburgh will care for the needy families of steel workers on strike so that "hunger and suffering [will not be] used as weapons for the settlement of differences between employees and employers." * * * The International Congress of the Christian Family will be held at Paris, June 25-27. Papers to be presented include the topics of Eugenics, the Family and the Church and State, Education for Marriage, and the Family and the Economic Crisis.

The Nation.—President Roosevelt sent Congress a message asking for laws to stop tax evasion "by a minority of very rich citizens." Secretary Morgenthau described anonymously eight fascinating ways to dodge taxes. The Senate immediately voted to set up with the House a joint investigating committee which would examine testimony itself and also assign to the Treasury certain of its broad congressional powers of inquiry. The periodically revolting House, however, refused to act precipitately and refused to give Treasury employees its own powers to subpoena witnesses and documents and to publicize what it pleases. * * * After a short but strangely complete retirement from the spotlight the wages and hours bill came forth on June 2 into the publicity of hearings before the Senate and House Labor Committees. Assistant Attorney General Robert H. Jackson was the first day's star witness and he devoted his energies to distinguishing the new bill from the old NRA and affirming its constitutionality, dealing especially with delegation of powers. The Committee displayed a rather unexcited scepticism and a widespread unfamiliarity with the proposal and its implications. * * * Internal Revenue Commissioner Guy T. Helvering announced that in 1934 a total of 525,898 corporations filed federal tax returns. Gross income reported was $100,831,253,000, and net income $4,275,-197,000. Only 145,101 returns showed net incomes, while 324,703 showed no income but rather deficits of $4,181,027,000. * * * Government economists estimated that cash income for farmers during the first half of this year will approach $4,000,000,000 and set a seven-year peak. For the first four months of this year farmers were running 27 percent ahead of last year. * * * The British Imperial Conference in London brought out the fact that the United States has made a list of specific proposals to the British Empire in the effort to bring reciprocal trade treaties. The conference is apparently friendly to the idea and a treaty is expected to be worked out during the next few months. The American promotion of reciprocal trade agreements together with "actions parallel to those of the League" and the monetary agreement were the principal evidence upon which the Geneva Research Center based its findings that the United States became far less isolationist during the past year. * * * Secretary Wallace failed to rouse much interest in current farm bills by his testimony before the House Agricultural Committee during which he strongly urged the passage of the ever normal granary plan. The bill's fate continued most uncertain.

The Wide World.—While Nationalists pushed their drive south of Bilbao, Government forces began an offensive northwest of Madrid. Valencia and Barcelona were bombed by a Nationalist air fleet. The German pocket battleship Deutschland, stationed one hundred yards from the pier in Iviza harbor, was bombed by Loyalist planes. Twenty-three members of the crew were killed and eighty-three wounded. The seaport city of Almeria was bombarded by five German warships in reprisal. Germany notified the International Non-Intervention Committee in London of her refusal to participate in further deliberations of that body or in patrol service off Spain until complete protection against further air attacks on ships of the international patrol fleet

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is assured. Italy likewise withdrew but asserted that, in its own name, it would continue to repress traffic in contraband arms and munitions. Secretary of State Cordell Hull appealed to German and Spanish governments through their Ambassadors in Washington for a peaceful adjustment of the situation. * * * Germany suspended diplomatic relations with the Vatican by withdrawing her Ambassador. The government declared that Cardinal Pacelli's reply to its protest against Cardinal Mundelein's speech was not satisfactory. * * * The great Paris exposition of "the arts and techniques in modern life" was opened by President Lebrun, Premier Blum and other dignitaries. * * * Prince Fumimaro Konoe accepted an invitation to form a new Tokyo Cabinet. * * * Seven nations—the so-called Oslo powers—met in the Netherlands to devise the best means of lowering trade barriers and reviving international credit. * * * An Anglican vicar conducted a religious wedding service for Mrs. Wallis Warfield and the Duke of Windsor at Monts.

* * * *

The German Church Crisis.—Persecution of the Church in Germany seemed headed for its most critical stage, June 5, the feast day of Saint Boniface, the patron saint of Germany, courageously designated by the German hierarchy this year as the date for Catholic boys and girls to renew their allegiance to Catholic Youth Organizations, and June 6, which has been officially designated as Catholic Youth Day. Bishop Conrad von Preysing of Berlin declares that the Hitler régime is trying to demonstrate, by the notorious trials of priests and lay Brothers, that the Catholic priesthood and religious orders are "unfit to engage in any educational activities whatever" and cites the fact that charges have been made against only 25 out of 25,000 German priests and 90 out of 90,000 priest and lay members of religious orders. Government inspired newspapers are giving these trials the fullest publicity, printing columns of detailed reports unfit for public consumption. Following the failure of the Vatican to disavow Cardinal Mundelein, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels delivered a violent tirade, May 28, asserting that "many thousands" were guilty of immorality, and followed this up the next day in his personal newspaper with the threat, "We may give into the hands of public justice material which we have regarding high ecclesiastics and bishops. If we do so, no pastoral letters, no encyclicals will restore the shattered confidence of millions of German Catholics." Another threat is the suppression of the monasteries. The Vatican has completed for publication a "White Book" listing the violations of the Concordat by the Hitler government; the papal authorities are also holding for the opportune moment the report of a committee of German bishops appointed to investigate immorality among the German clergy and laity. Diocesan papers are now forbidden to publish anything favoring the maintenance of parochial schools, which is guaranteed by the Concordat, and with press, radio and other channels of information completely in Nazi hands, the defense of the Church is restricted to the pulpit.

Steel Labor.—The campaign of the C.I.O. against the independent steel companies reached a climax on Memorial Day when riots in Chicago resulted in the death of six workers. The union demanded a written contract with the companies governing relations with union members. The Youngstown Company declared it would bargain collectively and obey all the National Labor Relations Act, but that "a written contract to observe the law is a futile gesture and it is not customary in human or business relations to request or require other parties to agree in writing to obey the law." Weirton officials made it clear that the companies regard the contract as an opening wedge for a closed shop and check-off system. In Youngstown, Ohio, where about 32,000 workers were out, a close blockade was established around the plants, and men inside were supplied by airplanes which the pickets were said to have tried to keep from the plants by shots from the ground and by sending airplanes into the air in attempts to head off the supply ships. In Buffalo complaints were made that the homes of "loyal" workers were being ruthlessly picketed. In the Calumet district of Chicago, where Youngstown, Inland and Republic all have great plants and where at least 22,000 men were said to be out, the police took a stand against mass picketing. Twenty-six men were hurt in a riot on May 28. Two days later came the big battle at the Republic mills during which the police used bullets and six men were killed. Governor Horner called conferences but no settlement seemed near. After the battle many union members raised demands to an exclusive bargaining contract, but it was not officially confirmed that the formal demands of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee had been changed to include that. Governor Horner did agree that mass picketing should be permitted. The first inquest over the deaths resulted simply in the identification of the deceased: four striking Inland Steel workers, one Republic worker, one WPA worker whose wife said he was a Communist. Charges of murder were made against the police, and the police charged the pickets with conspiracy to commit an illegal act. None of the arrested pickets had any firearms. The inquest was continued to June 15.

Mexico.—The Mexican Episcopal Executive Committee issued on May 29 a detailed pastoral instruction governing the attendance of children at the government, socialist schools. The first section of the pastoral called for careful teaching of the Church's social and economic doctrines, stressing the true motive for the opposition to socialist education: "Although these observations are obvious, nevertheless it is necessary to set them forth clearly because so many and such great calumnies have been launched against the Church by modern agitators and there is so much and such great ignorance about the Catholic doctrine that it is no wonder that confusion is introduced into the minds of no few faithful who do not take account of the true motives that actuate the Church in opposing Socialism, and sometimes causes them to sympathize with its errors. . . . Facing the frequent accusations made against the Church that it is indifferent

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to social problems, or incapable of solving them, do not desist from proclaiming that only the teaching and the work of the Church, assisted as it is by its Divine Founder, can furnish a remedy for the very grave ills which burden humanity." The second section explains that "in no case is it licit to sign any documents that the State may demand for conceding the faculty of opening schools or of teaching, if these documents contain certain declarations contrary to the Faith and Catholic morals." Catholics are urged "to keep before the faithful the extreme necessity of availing themselves of all licit means, with perseverence and strength, and at the cost of grave sacrifices, in order to keep on trying those remedies which seem most opportune and with the purpose of preventing as much as possible the tragic consequences of socialistic education." The third section deals with the devotions and other activities needed to offset the effects of the schools. Meanwhile petitions continued to flow into the national and state governments of Mexico for the reopening of churches. From Orizaba an open letter was addressed to the President and the Governor of Vera Cruz: "We Catholics of Vera Cruz only ask for justice. We are not rebellious toward the authorities nor have we proceeded with violence outside the law. . . . Return our Catholic churches to us and amend the Law on Religious Worship which is ignominous to civilization and a mockery of citizens." Led by "kneel-down" strkers in the cathedral of Nogales, the Catholics of Sonora apparently obtained some relaxation of the strict regulations in that state. All this while the whole country was upset by a strike wave which tied up the huge oil industry and caused speculation concerning the degree of unity between President Cardenas and Lombardo Toledano, very Marxian leader of the biggest labor organization.

Social Work Conference.—At the National Conference of Social Work meeting in Indianapolis during the past week, Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, proposed a general broadening of the Social Security law to include needy children, "perhaps the greatest single group with which we must deal." He recommended long or short-time pensions for them "similar to the widows' pension in many states." He also recommended supplementing short-term unemployment insurance benefits with some form of work relief. Miss Mary Van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation declared "for the first time in three years since the United States became a member [of the International Labor Office at Geneva] our federal government will be in a position to enter into" the proposed agreement to establish an international working week of forty hours, "since the Supreme Court has now declared it to be within the competence of Congress to regulate wages and hours in interstate commerce." Miss Van Kleeck said that "the newly vitalized" American labor movement would find in the International Labor Office "an opportunity to cooperate with workers in all other countries in raising . . . standards throughout the world." Josephine Brown, assistant WPA administrator, said that one-fifth of the WPA workers suffered from serious mental or physical disabilities and urged the setting up of a permanent medical program administered by state departments of health and financed by appropriations to the United States Public Health Service. Reverend John J. Donovan, director of the division of families of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, spoke of the present trend toward individual care of the aged, "approximating the privileges and freedom they enjoyed in their own homes." Father Donovan said that "many aged persons do not feel their usefulness is at an end. Consideration should therefore be given to their individual capacities in order to ameliorate loneliness and isolation as well as the depressing feeling of being put on the shelf."

Catholic Evidence Guild.—The nation-wide apostolate of the Catholic Evidence Guild was inaugurated recently, for the fifth consecutive year, in the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Open-air meetings will be held in the public parks of Baltimore and Washington throughout the summer months. Guilds in Philadelphia, New York, Spokane, Detroit and other cities will again carry the Catholic message to all who will pause to listen to a simple, factual explanation of Catholicism. Guild members conduct radio programs, give talks in jails and hospitals, and carry on an intensive course of study during the winter months. With the advent of more clement weather, however, they set up speaking stands in public parks, teach doctrine and answer sincere, pertinent questions. They have been responsible for the return to the Church of many lapsed Catholics and for numerous conversions. Each Guild member must spend one hour in adoration before the Blessed Sacrament for every hour on the outdoor platform. Priests, laymen and zealous members of the laity, both men and women, are participating in this rapidly growing movement.

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—The American Unitarian Association, holding its one hundred and twelfth annual meeting in Boston, was torn by temporary dissension over the introduction of a resolution backing labor in its present-day campaign to secure better living conditions. Delegates rejected the proposed resolution, declaring that the subject of labor was not a proper one for action by a religious convention. Others felt that passage of the resolution would be construed to mean approval of sit-down strikes. * * * The East Pennsylvania Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church unanimously voted, at its ninety-sixth annual convention in Philadelphia, to unite with three other synods in the state. * * * Delegates at the Second Biennial Institute of a Movement for World Christianity, in session at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, heard Dr. F. Ernest Johnson, Executive Secretary of Research and Education for the Federal Council of Churches, score capitalism for its failure to be Christian. Dr. Johnson declared that capitalism's regulation of prices worked hardship on the poor, and, further, that capitalism challenges the central theme of Christianity, the principle of brotherly love. * * * Judge E. J. Millington, president of the Michigan Baptist Convention, speaking at the Northern Baptist meeting in Philadelphia, declared that the glorious and vital periods in the history of the Church have been those

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in which it really came to grips with moral and social corruption. Charges of Communism leveled at the Federal Council of Churches were denounced as puerile or downright slanderous by Dr. Edgar DeWitt Jones, newly elected president of the Council. * * * Announcement was made that the Chicago Round Table of the National Conference of Jews and Christians will hold its second Midwest Institute of Human Relations June 20 to 24, at Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.

Father Marquette.—In pursuance to a resolution by Congress, President Roosevelt directed that June 1 be observed as a day of commemoration of the tercentenary of the birth of Father Jacques Marquette, S.J., noted Jesuit missionary and explorer. In Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol, young women from Trinity College and the National School of Social Service placed wreaths before his statue. There followed a series of brief addresses by the vice-president of Georgetown University, Jules Henry of the French Embassy and prominent members of both Houses of Congress. "I like to think of Father Marquette," Representative Louis C. Rabout declared, "in his decision to follow in the footsteps of the Blackrobes, in his diligence in pursuing the study of difficult languages to fit himself for this work, in his courageous spirit in accepting the difficult missions entrusted to him, as a leader of men who traveled miles inland on a visit to the Illinois with only his crucifix as a shield, and who was received like an angel from heaven." At Governor Philip F. LaFollette's suggestion, flags flew in every city in Michigan and many ceremonies were held. Marquette University opened its tercentenary observance with a convocation. More than one hundred students made a boat pilgrimage to Ludington, Mich., scene of the famous Jesuit's death. Services at the site included remarks by the Reverend Raphael C. McCarthy, Marquette president, who extolled the standard of Father Marquette, impressing upon the students the necessity of adapting to their lives the same courage, adventure and loyalty that characterized the life of the missionary-explorer. A memorial fund has been started by Marquette University alumni, and it is expected that a bronze cross will be built soon, replacing the present wooden cross on the knoll overlooking beautiful Pere Marquette Lake.

Russia at the Pole.—The flight of the Russian planes to the North Pole and the establishment of a little colony there recently is the culmination of years of preparation by the Soviet government itself. The expedition is headed by Professor Otto J. Schmidt, head of the Glavsevmorput (Central Administration of the Northern Sea Route), which was founded five years ago. Professor Schmidt is said to have at his command 10 ice-breakers, 150 additional vessels, 125 planes, 40 polar stations, 125 meteorological and radio stations and 40,000 employees. Four of his scientific explorers are planning to stay at their North Pole base for a whole year. Their home, a tent lined with eiderdown, has been fitted out with all sorts of scientific apparatus and a wealth of supplies. Because of the proximity of the magnetic pole radio disturbances have been widely experienced by the engineers. A thorough study of weather conditions is contemplated with a possible view to the establishment of a trans-polar air route between Siberia and the United States. In this connection several of the Soviet supply planes found flying conditions very difficult. In addition to the manifold scientific possibilties of the Russian expedition, it has given rise to several interesting points in international law. Hitherto no claim to any part of the open sea has been recognized as valid. The ice flow on which the camp has been pitched has drifted at the rate of about six miles a day, so that it is no longer at the mathematical point which is designated as the Pole. Since 1924 the Soviets have been reasserting the czar's claims to all land that lies between Russia and the Pole. Russia has notified the other nations that the Arctic is to be divided up on the basis of "regions of attraction" rather than the prevailing practise of title through discovery and occupation. This new claim would bestow on Russia nearly half of all the Arctic regions, which she believes are rich in potential natural resources.

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Relief.—Labor Department statistics show that in April WPA funds were furnishing jobs to 2,954,000 persons, a decrease of 19,000 in the month. The payroll amounted to more than $135,687,000, and cost of materials ordered to over $42,167,000. In April, PWA furnished 189,000 jobs against 174,000 in March, and material orders amounted to $23,000,000. The CCC had 368,000 in April compared to 307,000 in March, and its payroll was $17,000,000. Workers employed in regular government construction work numbered 133,000 in April—up 13,000. These huge figures were a weapon for the administration in its struggle with the House of Representatives, where a week before revolting members refused to give a blank appropriation of $1,500,000,000 for relief but insisted on earmarking $505,000,000 for PWA, flood control and highways. Such earmarking would result in large expenses on materials which would reduce the amount available for relief wages. The administration conducted one of its most interesting and difficult parliamentary campaigns to get the House to abandon the earmarking. The President agreed that PWA should continue to operate on the old basis of 45-percent contribution to project costs, with its old money. It was also agreed that the relief money might be paid as wages in PWA, flood control and highway work, but absolutely not for materials in any of these projects. After a twelve-hour session on June 1, the administration won, and the relief bill could be sent to the Senate as the straight $1,500,000,000 appropriation which President Roosevelt feels is necessary. Several riders were attached, however, which have the old flavor of congressional politics: relief is to be refused to farm and unskilled laborers who refuse private work (at wages unmentioned); a preference is to be given American citizens and war veterans; WPA administrative jobs are to be allocated to states in proportion to their population.

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The Play and Screen

Room Service

"ROOM SERVICE" is one of those knockabout farces indigenous to America, and which Americans act, write and direct so well. Utterly inconsequential, divorced from psychological truth, written to be played in a sort of hilarious cloud-cuckoo land, such plays are peculiarly of the minute. Their qualities are the qualities of American urban life: speed, high spirits—real or assumed—vitality, and noise. Of any real truth of character, humor in its richer moments, or illuminating wit these plays are devoid. In their place they give us well-recognized types, exaggerated to the bounds of caricature, hilarious and often preposterous situations and wisecracks. Such plays not only ignore thought, they forbid it. In a truly happy society, or even one of any balanced stability, they could not exist, or at least their popularity would be greatly lessened. In the American world of today, however, their appeal is enormous, as has been attested by such recent successes as "She Loves Me Not," "Three Men on a Horse" and "Boy Meets Girl." In these plays, if anywhere, is the true literature of escape, as escape is comprehended by the average human being. It is an escape, not into the world of the intellect, or even of the emotions, but into what is practically another form of the physical world. To escape from the dull round of routine people long for unthinking humorous activity, for absurd situations entered into by types which require no effort of the imagination to understand. And this is peculiarly attractive to the great mass of a democratic society.

"Room Service," by John Murray and Allen Boretz, is an admirable example of this type of play. It has to do with the gyrations of a theatrical producer who gets a shaky hotel to finance his play, meanwhile keeping his unpaid actors and his playwright as guests of the house. It would be impossible to set forth the story, for it is the detail of the subterfuges which the producer invents to keep his actors in the hotel and his play in rehearsal, which makes up the story, and these details are too numerous to be explained in a short review. It is enough to say that the action is fast, furious and funny, and that the acting and especially the direction is admirable. Indeed the true hero of the evening is the director. George Abbott has never proved himself more completely a master of modern American farce than in "Room Service." His invention of business, his pace, his sense of timing is magnificent. In all this he is well seconded by his actors. Sam Levene as the producer, Philip Loeb as the director, Donald MacBride as the hotel proprietor, and Alexander Asro as the Moscow Art Theatre actor turned waiter are in particular superb. Of course they don't truly create character. How could they, being types? But they play with a gusto, a humor, a breakneck speed which galvanizes the types into life. And it is something to be thankful for, that Mr. Murray and Mr. Boretz have written a play which aside from a few lines does not offend good taste. "Room Service" ought to run nearly as long as "Three Men on a Horse." (At the Cort Theatre.)

Sea Legs

DESPITE its somewhat antiquated book "Sea Legs" is an amusing musical, chiefly because of the excellent dancing and charm of Dorothy Stone and Charles Collins, and Michael H. Cleary's catchy, if unoriginal, music, and good performances by Mary Sargent, Rosco Ates, Walter N. Greaza, Derek Fairman and Rosie Moran. Moreover, the chorus is young and good to look upon. If the book had been as good as the performance and the staging the producers might well look forward to a prosperous summer run, but it may be that New York audiences have been spoiled by the greater inventedness of several recent musical shows. But those who wish to enjoy merely a pleasant evening, free from the slightest taint of vulgarity, will find what they wish at least in Miss Stone and Mr. Collins.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

This Is My Affair

TRADITION says that Richard L. Perry, Lieutenant, United States Navy, was quietly and very privately enlisted by President McKinley, in 1901, to leave his ship post to act as undercover operative in order to learn the identities of higher-ups who at that time were engineering a series of bold bank robberies and counterfeiting in the Midwest. Perry does, but before he can convey the information, from a jail where he had been deliberately lodged for participating with the gang in a Baltimore bank robbery, the President is assassinated and the Lieutenant seems to be on his way to the gallows. Fiction-like, however, his innocence is proven, but not before the ropes on the scaffold hang dangerously close to his neck, or the full allotment of thrills and suspense and love interest round out the proper melodramatic formula.

The story and its telling are very American, scenes swinging principally from Washington to St. Paul, with full effect being given to the styles for buxom figures and the handle-bar mustachio atmosphere typical of the turning century. The film re-creates several historical characters, whom many will still recall from real life, among them President McKinley, President Theodore Roosevelt and Admiral Dewey. Not many, however, ever heard of Lieutenant Perry, who, unlike President McKinley's other trusted confidant, Lieutenant Rowan, had no Elbert Hubbard to make him immortal for carrying his military message to Garcia. Lieutenant Perry's fame, until now, has been confined to a gravestone in Arlington National Cemetery.

Robert Taylor and Barbara Stanwyck lead an effective cast, and the combination of characterization, theme and substantiating colorful production detail, embellished by music and dancing of the era, provide desirable entertainment, even though the excursion into the realm of history may not receive the unanimous endorsement of students.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

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Communications

MODERN ART

Brookland, D. C.

TO the Editor: I have just finished reading Frederic Thompson's review of "Masters in Modern Art," by James W. Lane, in which I noted the following phrase: "Some fuzzy half-tones are inserted by way of illustration without being illuminating." That phrase of Mr. Thompson's admirably sums up the situation with regard to so much of our modern "art."

When a picture has to be described in detail so that one may know what it represents, there is something wrong with it. It can no longer be called art, for art is an expression of reality and beauty, correct both as to form and color. The real artist draws or paints his subject as it is, and anyone looking at the finished picture knows at once, without any guess-work, just what it represents. If the subject is a man, a woman, a child, a boat or a landscape there is no question about it.

For years the Impressionist, the Cubist, and other modern schools of art have been turning out, not pictures, but puzzles, and worse than puzzles. Puzzles are really interesting, they follow certain well-defined laws, and make people think. But the stuff turned out by these modern schools of art is not interesting, follows no laws, and only befogs the mind. No thought is given to the laws of perspective, the color scheme is not true to nature, and human anatomy is so twisted and distorted that one must conclude that they, who draw or paint these human monstrosities, have never attended a life class, and made a study of the human figure. There is no sense of proportion, and no evidence that the muscles of the human body are supported by a bone framework called a skeleton. Subjects, in themselves truly sublime, are often nothing but hideous caricatures, and landscapes but daubs of paint. There are art galleries filled with these travesties on art, for which valuable prizes are being awarded, and fabulous prices paid.

Public exhibitions of these things have been bad enough, but in more recent years, and now more than ever before, this sort of stuff is being inflicted on the reading public by the illustrations in many books, and on the jackets that cover these books. Take, for example, one that appeared on the jacket of a recent publication, which is supposed to represent the conversion of Saint Paul on the road to Damascus. Were it not for the word "Conversion," that appears on the cover design, which serves as a sort of key to the picture, or were it not for the long description of just what the picture represents, found on the back of the jacket, this picture might just as well represent a lost soul plunging headlong into the lower regions.

Or, again, consider the pen sketches that are constantly seen in some of our Catholic book catalogues, which are used to illustrate the books therein advertised, which are often so grotesque that one, looking at them, wonders if the artist who drew them is really in his right mind. If the publishers who cater to this sort of stuff think that these illustrations help the sale of their publications, they are mistaken, for the impression these pictures make on the reading public is, that if the content of the book is anything like these illustrations, the book itself must be queer, uninteresting and not worth reading.

I suppose nothing can be done about it, but if these publishers were wise, they would submit these monstrosities to a committee of real artists before accepting them. If this were done, I am sure that most of these art stunts would be rejected, the sale of the books they advertise would increase, and the poor reading public, who possess any artistic sense, would be spared a lot of mental agony.

REV. RICHARD S. CARTWRIGHT, C.S.P.

CHINESE ANTIQUITIES

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editor: Mr. Richard J. Walsh, president of the John Day Company, has sent me a copy of a review of my book, "The Birth of China," which appears in your journal for May 14, 1937. He has asked me to write to you concerning it.

It is not my practise to enter into any sort of controversy with reviewers, and I certainly should not do so in this case on my own account, but your reviewer has written: "It seems that Dr. Creel's scholarship is being harmed by the publishers and advertisers who are under the impression that the exalted phraseology of Hollywood filmdom is equally useful in presenting a scholar's effort."

Since Mr. Walsh is disturbed, quite unnecessarily in my opinion, by this criticism, I am acceding to his request that I write you. Mr. Boyd-Carpenter should have noted that the advertising matter distributed by the publishers includes very little text that is original with them but consists largely of quotations from the opinions of such persons as Sir Arthur Keith, Mr. Carl Whiting Bishop of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. John C. Ferguson, Mr. Laurence C. S. Sickman of the Nelson Gallery of Art, Professor W. Percival Yetts of the University of London, Mr. Earl H. Pritchard, Dr. Otto Burchard, Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale University, Mr. Charles Fabens Kelley of the Art Institute of Chicago, and others. It would seem, therefore, that it would have been more fair for Mr. Boyd-Carpenter to proclaim his disagreement with the opinions of these gentlemen rather than to criticize the publisher who quoted them.

On one point Mr. Boyd-Carpenter was a little careless. He wrote: "In the Notes, Dr. Creel gives in all 160 references, of which 111 are from Dr. Legge's translation of the Chinese classics, with 11 others from the I-li of John Steele and 11 from Gunnar Anderson. Thus 133 out of 160 references are not from the bones, bamboos or stones, carved with Chinese characters."

If he had read the preface he would have seen, on page 12, the statement: "For the convenience of readers desirous of identifying quotations I give, in the Notes, the location of quoted passages in standard English translation. It is to be remembered however that reference to a translation does not necessarily mean that the translation rendered has been reproduced in this book, although in most cases I have altered it only slightly if at all. I have not burdened the Notes with references to works

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of which there is no standard translation since these would be of use only to Sinologists."

Your reviewer questions the newness and apparently the originality of the work on which the book is based. Since yours is a Catholic publication, allow me to quote from a review by Henri Bernard, S.J., in *Monumenta Serica* (Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking, Vol. II, Fac. I, 1936, pages 228 to 232), who says in part:

" 'The Birth of China' présuppose ces études de détail dont la plupart n'ont pas encore été publiées; ce livre, n'étant pas écrit pour des spécialistes, n'exige point de ses lectures la connaissance de la langue chinoise, ni même de l'histoire chinoise, mais l'on y a évité les généralisations hâtives et, comme le dit l'auteur dans sa préface (p. 12), on pourrait l'annoter en moyenne de 25 références par page. C'est dire avec uel soin minutieux le texte en a été établi. M. Creel, se basant cette fois non plus tant sur les documents écrits, trop rares et trop concis, que sur tous les vestiges exhumés avant le mois d'août 1935, a voulu grouper pour la première fois en une synthèse vraiment lisible les résultats de l'archéologie la plus récente. A ce point de vue, on peut le comparer a l'ouvrage de Sir Aurel Stein, 'On Ancient Central Asian Tracks,' pour l'Asie Centrale (*Monumenta Serica,* t. I. p. 203-205) et, plus encore, à celui de M. J. Gunnar Anderson, 'Children of the Yellow Earth' (*Monumenta Serica,* t. I. p. 219-223); . . . Le dernier chapitre de M. Creel, 'The Decree of Heaven' (p. 367-380), mieux que tout autre, nous paraît souligner les modifications extrêmement importantes que les recherches nouvelles introduisent dans l'ensemble de l'histoire chinoise."

If Mr. Boyd-Carpenter feels my work to be neither new nor original, it is certainly his privilege to publish the fact. There are others not without reputation in the field who do not agree with him. It is a matter of opinion and that is that. But I will be greatly obliged if you will inform Mr. Boyd-Carpenter that I will defend myself, if any defense should ever be necessary, against my publishers, and that his well-intentioned championing is quite unnecessary.

H. G. Creel.

AN APPEAL FOR INDIAN CHILDREN

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Following its usual practise, the Marquette League for Catholic Indian Missions, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City, is making its appeal this spring in behalf of Father John T. Prange, S.J., Superior of Holy Family Mission, Montana. Father Prange writes of the girls' building:

"A low, rambling, one-story, frame structure, which has put up a noble resistance against Montana's elements for forty-seven years. Weather-beaten by hundreds of blizzards, and shaken as often by super-speed winds swooping down from the heights of the Rockies, thirty-five miles to the west, it was unable, in its advanced forty-seventh winter, to keep out any longer the cold and the finely driven snow that persisted in getting through the ever-increasing number of chinks.

"All this only faintly intimates our greater concern for the children entrusted to our care: and proper housing for them has therefore become our most acute problem and imperative immediate agenda. Sympathy alone for these shivering youngsters would be amply sufficient for us to direct, with outstretched imploring arms, our indispensable needs to your charity. But we needs must forget this sympathy in the face of facts, that since we are now subject to government inspection, we have been served with stinging criticism, despite our unstinted yet sadly limited endeavors."

Bishop Gilmore, zealous Bishop of Helena, Montana, in whose diocese Holy Family Mission is located, writes:

"For many years Holy Family Mission School has been the center of missionary activities among the Blackfeet. So urgent is this need and so deserving is this appeal that the Blackfoot Indians themselves, out of their very meager resources, are doing all they can to insure the proposed improvement of the school facilities. The generous Catholics of the country should profit by this worthy example and come to our aid."

The government inspectors have already termed the present school "unfit for another winter's habitation . . . unsanitary and dangerous to the health of the children . . . absolutely inadequate for this climate." The Mission School will have to close unless our Catholic people are willing to make some sacrifice to enable Father Prange to meet the demands of the inspectors. Holy Family Mission School has labored for years to keep the Faith of Christ among our Blackfoot Indians. Will you help him now—when your assistance is most needed?

Surely the friends of our Indian Missions will not turn a deaf ear to this urgent appeal from one of our zealous missionaries of the Northwest.

Rev. Bernard A. Cullen,
Director General, Marquette League.

"FOR GOD OR AGAINST GOD"

Brookline, Mass.

TO the Editor: The recent appointment of Dr. Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster, as President of Catholic Action for England, Scotland and Wales, would seem to indicate that the Church sees the need for the unification of the forces of Catholic Action.

The Holy Father has plainly pointed out that the issue of our times is "For God or against God," and that this issue is world-wide. The direct impact of the forces of light and those of darkness may not be so marked in America, as it is in other countries, but the world leaders of atheistic Bolshevism hope and believe that our turn will come.

In unity among men for natural ends, there is strength. How much more strength is to be found in the Divine unity of the Cross: in the unity of the children of God, in one Lord, one faith and one baptism. We in America should have a higher realization of this practical Catholic unity in prayer, action and sacrifice, in order to offer effectual resistance to the destructive forces of Anti-Christ.

William E. Kerrish.

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Books

Twenty-five Years' Reporting

Dusk of Empire, by Wythe Williams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.00.

A VACATION had been granted and now before Wythe Williams, after five years of steady reporting, London appeared. By chance, a shipboard acquaintance handed him an address that was to give him a view of European splendor. The kings of the continent gathered together for the funeral of Edward VII. No sooner had Wythe Williams landed, than fate placed this assignment before him: on his first stroll, passing an inspiring mansion whose doors were flanked by footmen in livery, his glance became attracted to a flag floating over the building, which as he looked was lowered to half-mast—a signal to the world that the United States was paying its last respects to the "Peacemaker." This was also a signal to him as a newspaperman to get to work. Here began a twenty-five-year career as one of America's most famous foreign correspondents, at a time of unparalleled disaster for that part of the globe. Starting his rounds in London he pictures the quiet before the storm, in the endless social gatherings typifying the news of that day.

In 1913, transferring his activities to Paris, the god of chance again smiled upon him. Here although he knew no French he was made correspondent for the New York *Times*. Through his eyes we are given a glimpse of the "Gay Paree" that was: the famous cafés, bars and meeting places of pleasure-seekers the world over. But this life of ease and stories of the "importance of unimportant things" was suddenly shattered for Wythe Williams by a crime of passion, Madame Caillaux's shooting of Gaston Calmette. The trial was all a newspaperman could wish for, and he has given us an interesting glimpse of the French Palais de Justice during that famous trial, which was more a debate of foreign policies than a murder trial. So great were the feelings raised that instead of shouting, "Down with Caillaux," the populace outside the grim walls were shouting, "On to Berlin." One may well say it was the opening wedge that gave Clemenceau his chance to wreak vengeance on Caillaux, who stood in the Premier's way to success of his plans during the war days, and the Tiger staged a come-back which was to place him in a favorable position for the coming years.

Now through these pages come the stirring events of the World War as witnessed by Wythe Williams, reaching a climax in his journey to Douaumont, of Verdun fame, through a veritable curtain of fire, with John Bass, a fellow correspondent. For a picture of the modern battle-field this chapter cannot be paralleled; Stephen Crane could do no better. Through the passing of time and governmental restrictions the author has been able to bring to light the true reasons for the Nivelle disaster and to restore the illustrious general and his brother officer Mangin to their proper places in history. One of the many high-lights of this book is the paragraph relating the way the latter thanked him officially.

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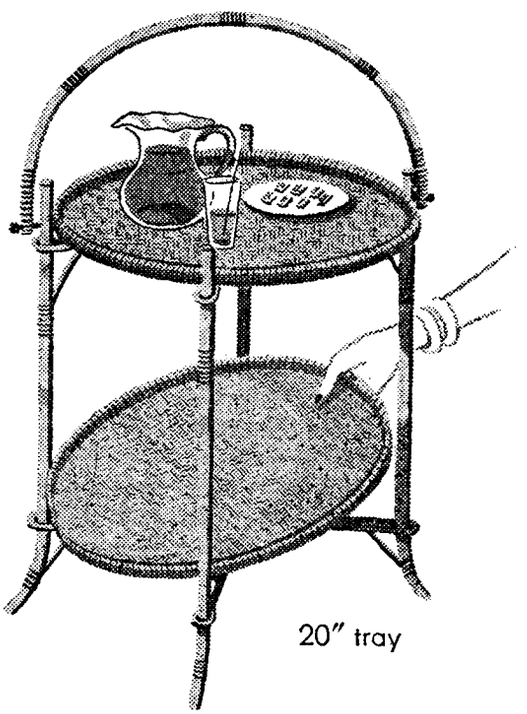

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To Wythe Williams the fatal decision of French politics on April 16 during the battle of 1917 was a true Waterloo for Europe and from then on she lost the power to finish that war without the actual help of the United States. In telling the truth Williams came near being expelled. He was saved from this by the Tiger of France backing him up in these words, "You see he is a friend of mine, and also the statements that he made are true."

From the war he turns to that all-inspiring man of France, Georges Clemenceau, and being a privileged friend of the great leader has been able to relate scenes in his life that give one a respect for Clemenceau which is akin to reverence. There follows the period of the Treaty of Versailles with all its bickerings and petty quarrels among those who should have stood together, then the League of Nations gatherings and the different disarmament conferences up to the present time. Finally comes Wythe Williams's warning to America that the time has come for her to bestir herself and to take the world leadership which is rightfully hers.

PHILIP H. WILLIAMS.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem

A Skeptic in the Holy Land, by Fulton Oursler. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $2.00.

BEGINNING with a frank admission of his infidelity, the author then reveals to us the doubts, fears and indecisions of a mind always seeking for truth, sometimes dreading to find it, but happy to discover there are still things in which a man can and ought to believe: things that soar above all the vice, fret and wretchedness of earth. So he rejoices that the Star which guided men to Bethlehem was something more than a legend.

In many of the pages of this book, I found an echo of my own impressions when many years ago I visited the Holy Land, and I could therefore understand the workings of a mind seeking in it something it had not known before, but of which it had been vaguely conscious that it had the need. The Holy Land must be felt, not seen only; and unless one feels its magnetism, one cannot understand its attraction even to unbelievers. Mr. Oursler's description of his arrival in Jerusalem reads like a poem. The darkness that hung over the city on the evening he reached it, suddenly lifted after the rain, and disclosed the "beautiful picture of a magic city, round tops and tall crosses, slender spires and high walls, all old and wrinkled like the faces of martyred saints, and all bathed in a holy and mysterious light." This is Jerusalem felt, not only seen, this ancient Jerusalem out of which has emerged the clear atmosphere of Christianity. The man who wrote these lines may have been an unbeliever, but he has never been one without faith or hope.

And it is with faith—which, after all, is a very different thing from belief—that Mr. Oursler takes us through the plains, valleys and sacred places of the Holy Land, and describes them to us as they appeared to him, and as they are and will always be to any unprejudiced mind; for instance, the sight of the Garden of Gethsemane is in itself sufficient to make one realize that under its venerable old trees was endured the greatest agony of which the world has known. "It helps us not to be in despair at our weakness," said the old Franciscan Friar to Mr. Oursler, "but to go on with the same prayer Jesus uttered under these trees we are looking at now, 'Nevertheless, not what I will, but what thou wilt.'"

"A Skeptic in the Holy Land" is a book which ought to be read from the first to the last page. It is a book which may shock a few, distress a good many perhaps, but it is impossible not to be deeply impressed by it and the moral honesty which emerges from its pages. Such a book will exert not only a great but also a good influence over every man or woman trying to fathom the secrets of the Infinite, and remembering the words of the Saviour, "In my father's house, there are many mansions"—in one of which its author is sure to find a place.

CATHERINE RADZIWILL.

A Great Statesman

Talleyrand, by Comte de Saint-Aulaire; translated by George Frederic Lees and Frederick J. Stephens. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

IT IS abundantly evident that the nineteenth-century estimate of Talleyrand is undergoing a radical revision. To his recent biographers he is no longer the "silken stocking filled with slime," but one of the sanest, most far-seeing statesmen of modern history. First we had the life by Duff-Cooper, then the monograph by Professor Brinton, and now this study by Comte de Saint-Aulaire. All three books coincide in their estimate of Talleyrand. Of them Mr. Duff-Cooper's is the most interesting as a study of the human being, Professor Brinton's as a defense of the conservative mind, and Comte de Saint-Aulaire's as an analysis of Talleyrand as a diplomatist and a statesman. Duff-Cooper is inclined to whitewash slightly the moral character of Talleyrand, and errs perhaps in thinking of him as a statesman who thought primarily of the good of France and Europe; Comte de Saint-Aulaire concedes that while this was the result of his policy, he was always thinking of his own good first. Yet Saint-Aulaire softens this by contending that even in his treasons Talleyrand was no worse and probably better than most of the statesman of his time, and that his betrayals were, as he said to the Czar Alexander, "only a matter of dates," Talleyrand simply making his betrayals earlier.

Comte de Saint-Aulaire because of his long service as French Ambassador in London is peculiarly fitted to speak of Talleyrand's work in bringing France and England together, and he gives him the credit, through his insistence on the independence of Belgium, of providing France with a shield which caused England to come to France's aid in 1914. Had Talleyrand insisted on the annexation of Belgium that shield would not have been there. This with his magnificent triumph at the Congress of Vienna in getting the Allies to recognize France's historic boundaries, Comte de Saint-Aulaire holds, places Talleyrand as one of the greatest statesmen of history.

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"From the aspect of his popularity his chief mistake was in being nearly always right; calm in a storm, sober in the midst of excess; human in an inhuman age; in never converting his errors into systems and, above all, into passions. He has been punished after his death for his virtues as he was rewarded during his life for his vices." In these words his latest biographer sums up the man. He does not belittle his faults, but he makes them understandable because of his education and his surroundings. Talleyrand was never the slave of the absolute, nor did he ever deny the doctrine of original sin, which as Saint-Aulaire so truly says was "the original sin of the Revolution." He was surely not a good man, but he was not one of the worst of men—and he was never cruel. He loved peace and hated war, and if he supported Napoleon it was only because he knew that opposition for the moment would be useless.

Comte de Saint-Aulaire's "Talleyrand" is a work, both in its subtlety of thought and its brilliancy of writing worthy of a high place among modern biographies.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

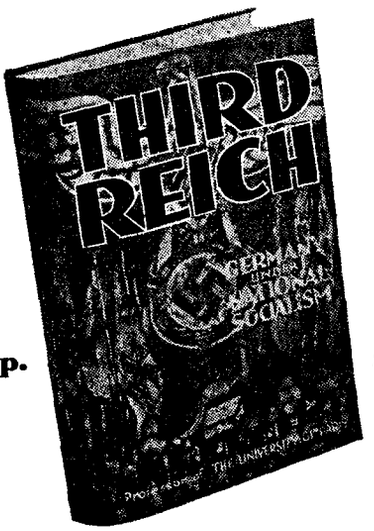
Last but Not Best

Blind Man's Year, by Warwick Deeping. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

MR. DEEPING is a sentimentalist; one need be no inverted sentimentalist to hold that. Sentimentality is excessive refinement; after the process of refining, the inverted sentimentalist will declare nothing of value but the grey slag, the sentimentalist of Mr. Deeping's type will slight the process of refining. This is not to say that there is no pain in "Blind Man's Year" or that life does not obtrude on its characters with a certain crudeness; it does— at least in Mr. Deeping's intention— but the wary reader may deem the pain and crudeness *Ersatz* products, introduced to heighten by contrast the sweetness which is the author's chief commodity. Yet this sweetness is in fact sprung from life, and Mr. Deeping draws it from the just reverence in which we hold such virtues as bravery, loyalty and sympathy. These virtues his heroine and hero learn and display through their adversities; but somewhere there is something a little amiss; perhaps it is that the adversities are too carefully rigged, the heroine too "fortunately" born with a hideous birthmark, the hero too "luckily" blinded in an airplane accident. Or perhaps the reader learns something is wrong fundamentally when he recognizes in the heroine traits that seem stamped on the typewriter keys of a dozen novelists, and cannot recall whether the hero reminds him of the airman he saw in last week's movie or last month's lending-library volume.

Rosamund and Clive are living enough, no doubt; though they are stiff and far from touching the real, there are many people in the world who act like characters in novels, for this is an age with strange guides. The virtues are good, the people real in a most familiar fashion, but there is no connection between either quality: in life itself, the qualities do not combine this easily and their harmony, so to speak, has a very different *timbre*

GP



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from the one in Mr. Deeping's prose. So, if these two things are things one meets in life, still on the author's page there is nothing at all that can be called life. But here one becomes involved in the question of what constitutes life, and of how far art shares these constituents, and the questions hardly seem relevant to Mr. Deeping's purpose. That his purpose is a good one I am not prepared to deny, nor that Mr. Deeping's Rosamund and Clive do not serve it well; but, supposing my state of mind is one which can be generally shared, it is sufficient commentary that affirmation or denial seems in no way urgent.

GEOFFREY STONE.

The First Century

The Pretender, by Lion Feuchtwanger; translated by Willa and Edwin Muir. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

LION FEUCHTWANGER was fortunate in finding a colorful historical subject till now neglected by novelists: the mysterious study of the false Nero, that potter Terence whose physical resemblance to the Emperor was used by political intriguers to accomplish the vain fellow's short triumph, followed by a pitiable fall.

The sources are sparse; everything important is left to the interpreter's imagination. With skilful psychology Feuchtwanger has constructed a possible background of motives to the puzzling facts. But this gives only the skeleton—not the flesh and blood of an epic—though rich in facts and human passions. A real poet might use Feuchtwanger's book as raw material for creating a perfect historical novel. Feuchtwanger himself seems to be incapable of such artistic realization; all his psychological cleverness offers nothing but the hypothetical reconstruction of an historical episode. The short chapters nervously jump from one character to another, hurrying where a poet should linger, giving boring details where the story itself suffices.

As a cultural picture of the first century, the book is lacking in that atmosphere evoked in other recent historical novels, e. g., R. Graves's witty books on Claudius. Feuchtwanger is at his best when describing the morbid world of oriental corruption in the town of Edessa, this little buffer state between Parthia and the Roman Empire. With the affinity of a decadent to a time of decay, he enjoys heaping up details of a rotten civilization and its glittering decomposition. But it is beyond the author's capacities to give a convincing picture of the old Roman mode of life and the new plastic powers of Christianity, destined to overcome its chaotic ruin. Feuchtwanger has been ambitious enough to set about this task, but has failed completely. He even drags into his story the pretended author of the Apocalypse, but this is only a melodramatic touch; the contrast between the grandiose imagery of the opened book with the seven seals and the shadowlike figures of this anemic novel serves only to demonstrate even more sharply the poetical impotence of this overestimated fiction writer.

MAX FISCHER.

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India's Traditional Culture

The Legacy of India; edited by G. T. Garratt. New York: Oxford University Press. $4.00.

MOTHER INDIA, her contribution to our present day, and what she has given to the world in the past, is deftly handled by a group of eminent writers, both English and Indian. The different chapters deal with literature, early and present, art and archeology, philosophy, the caste system, Buddhism and Hinduism, Moslem architecture, cultural influences of Islam, music, science, vernacular literatures, and Indo-British civilization. This is another of the famous "Legacy" series and accompanying the different articles are half-tones of excellent quality, portraying the glory that was India's. Mr. G. T. Garratt contributed the part, "Indo-British Civilization" and, as he says, "It is hoped that this small book, written by Indian and English hands, may help to remove one cause of that quarrel which is the Englishman's failure to appreciate the old traditional culture of the people with whose destiny that of his own country is so closely intermingled."

A Realistic Picture

Billions for Defense, by William T. Stone and Ryllis Alexander Goslin. New York: Foreign Policy Association. $.35 *Board,* $.25 *Paper.*

IN PRESENTING a realistic picture of our present national defenses this latest addition to the excellent "Headline Books" series manifests a characteristic simplicity of style, generous use of picture charts and clarity of presentation. The authors find the huge sums now spent for American armament more than adequate for the defense of our shores. They oppose as impractical and dangerous the extension of the term "national defense" to our interests all over the world. They find our national defense policy badly confused and believe it should be more clearly defined. Modern history is cited to substantiate their doubts "whether the sanctity of treaties, or any cause, however holy, can be successfully defended by force of arms."

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GEOFFREY STONE, of the staff of the *American Review,* is a writer of criticism for newspapers and reviews.

MAX FISCHER, well known in Germany as a poet and writer on foreign politics, was formerly Soviet correspondent of a conservative newspaper.

BELLOC ON SPAIN

We are all agreed that what we must have if we are to make sense of the Spanish situation is a clear understanding of what the war there involves. We publish this week THE ISSUE, a little book by Hilaire Belloc based on his speech on Spain at Carnegie Hall. We are bringing it out in paper covers at 50c and heartily recommend it as the best mind-clearer we know. It is both shorter and—at the moment—more important than his ESSAY ON THE NATURE OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLAND ($1.25) which nevertheless is the book for anyone who wants to understand that rather odd country. The *N. Y. Times* calls this "A brilliant and provocative piece of writing," and added that "Mr. Belloc does not list the power of self criticism among English qualities. But he exemplifies it."

Meantime, John Farrow's DAMIEN THE LEPER ($2.50) goes marching on. It is now in its third large printing. It was a first choice of the Spiritual Book Associates and the Sheed and Ward Book Society, and an alternative selection of the Catholic Book Club, the Book a Month Club and the Religious Book Club, and it has received more enthusiastic reviews than any other book we have published except CHESTERTON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY ($3.00) which has been reviewed by six unenthusiastic critics and two hundred and eight enthusiastic ones, so far. GENEVA VERSUS PEACE ($2.50) on the other hand, seems to have startled the reviewers into silence. As we said before, the author, the Comte de Saint Aulaire does not mince matters. He sees the League of Nations as an instrument that might plunge us into another World War, and he ought to know. He saw it born, and now prays that he may see it die.

A new number of THIS PUBLISHING BUSINESS, our own more or less quarterly review of books and authors, is just off the press. If you have not received a copy, send us a postcard and we will mail it to you, free and post free.

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